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THE GEOGRAPHY  
OF STRABO

VII  
BOOKS XV-XVI



*Translated by*  
H. L. JONES

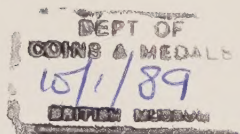
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STRABO (64-63 B.C.-c. A.D.25), an Asiatic Greek of Amasia in Pontus, studied at Nysa and after 44 B.C. at Rome and possibly at Alexandria and became a keen traveller who saw a large part of Italy, various near eastern regions including the Black Sea, various parts of Asia Minor, and Egypt as far as Ethiopia, and parts of Greece. He was a long time in Alexandria where he no doubt studied mathematics, astronomy, and authors therein and in history. His earlier historical work is lost, but his most important *Geography* in 17 books has survived. After two introductory books, numbers 3 and 4 deal with Spain and Gaul, 5 and 6 with Italy and Sicily, 7 with north and east Europe, 8-10 with Greek lands, 11-14 with the main regions of Asia and with Asia Minor, 15 with India and Iran, 16 with Assyria, Babylonia, Syria and Arabia, 17 with Egypt and Africa. In outline he follows the great mathematical geographer Eratosthenes, but adds general descriptions of separate countries including physical, political, and historical details. A sequel to his historical memoirs, it is planned apparently for public servants rather than

*Continued on back flap*

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## THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

### VII



# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
HORACE LEONARD JONES, PH.D., LL.D.  
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VII



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON  
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXXXIII

American ISBN 0-674-99266-0  
British ISBN 0 434 99241 0

*First printed 1930*  
*Reprinted 1954, 1961, 1966, 1983*

*Printed in Great Britain*



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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK XV

# ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

## ΙΕ'

### Ι

1. Τὰ περιλειπόμενα τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου, πλὴν Κιλικίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Λυκίας, τὰ<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι Νείλου μεταξὺ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης τῆς νοτίου κείμενα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡ Λιβύη ἐστί, περὶ ἧς ἐροῦμεν ὕστερον, νῦν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀρκτέον· πρώτη γὰρ ἔκκειται πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ μεγίστη.

2. Δεῖ δ' εὐγνωμόνως ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἀπωτάτω ἐστί, καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατώπτευσαν αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες μέρη τιὰ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ πλείω λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς· καὶ ἃ εἶδον δέ, ἐν παρόδῳ στρατιωτικῇ καὶ δρόμῳ κατέμαθον· διόπερ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσι, καὶ ταῦτα συγγράψαντες ὥς ἂν πεφροντισμένως ἐξητασμένα, τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ συστρατεύσαντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεπιδημήσαντες, καθάπερ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συγκαταστρεψάμενοι τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ τὰναντία λέγει πολλάκις.

<sup>1</sup> δ', before ἀπό, the editors omit.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Indian Ocean.

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

## BOOK XV

### I

1. THE parts still left of Asia are those outside the Taurus except Cilicia and Pamphylia and Lycia, I mean the parts extending from India as far as the Nile and lying between the Taurus and the outer sea on the south.<sup>1</sup> After Asia one comes to Libya, which I shall describe later, but I must now begin with India, for it is the first and largest country that lies out towards the east.

2. But it is necessary for us to hear accounts of this country with indulgence, for not only is it farthest away from us, but not many of our people have seen it; and even those who have seen it, have seen only parts of it, and the greater part of what they say is from hearsay; and even what they saw they learned on a hasty passage with an army through the country. Wherefore they do not give out the same accounts of the same things, even though they have written these accounts as though their statements had been carefully confirmed. And some of them were both on the same expedition together and made their sojourns together, like those who helped Alexander to subdue Asia; yet they all frequently contradict one

ὅπου δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁραθέντων οὕτω διαφέρονται, τί  
δεῖ νομίζειν περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς ;

3. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' οἱ πολλοὶ<sup>1</sup> πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
ὕστερον συγγράψαντές τι περὶ τούτων, οὐδ' οἱ νῦν  
πλέοντες ἐκείσε, ἀποφαίνονται τι ἀκριβές.  
C 686 Ἀπολλόδωρος γοῦν ὁ τὰ Παρθικὰ ποιήσας,  
μεμνημένος καὶ τῶν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀποστησάν-  
των Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τῶν Συριακῶν βασιλέων  
τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος, φησὶ μὲν  
αὐτοὺς αὐξηθέντας ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ·  
οὐδὲν δὲ προσανακαλύπτει τῶν πρότερον ἐγνωσ-  
μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιολογεῖ, πλείω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς  
ἐκείνους ἢ Μακεδόνας καταστρέψασθαι λέγων.  
Εὐκρατίδαν γοῦν πόλεις χιλίας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν·  
ἐκείνοι δέ γε αὐτὰ τὰ μεταξὺ ἔθνη τοῦ τε  
Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ὑπάνιος τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐννέα,  
πόλεις τε σχεῖν πεντακισχιλίας, ὧν μηδεμίαν  
εἶναι Κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος ἐλάττω· ταύτην δὲ  
πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον  
παραδοῦναι Πύρῳ.

4. Καὶ οἱ νῦν δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πλέοντες  
ἐμπορικοὶ τῷ Νείλῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ  
μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς σπάνιοι μὲν καὶ<sup>2</sup> περιπεπλεύ-  
κασι μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου, καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἰδιῶται καὶ  
οὐδὲν πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν τόπων χρήσιμοι.  
κάκειθεν δὲ ἀφ' ἐνὸς τόπου καὶ παρ' ἐνὸς  
βασιλέως, Πανδίουος, καὶ ἄλλου<sup>3</sup> Πύρου, ἦκεν  
ὡς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν δῶρα καὶ πρεσβεῖα

<sup>1</sup> πολλοί, which Corais and the later editors eject, Jones restores.

<sup>2</sup> καί, omitted by *Cmoxz*.

<sup>3</sup> Before καὶ ἄλλου Groskurd inserts *ἤ*, at the same time



another. But if they differ thus about what was seen, what must we think of what they report from hearsay?

3. Moreover, most of those who have written anything about this region in much later times, and those who sail there at the present time, do not present any accurate information either. At any rate, Apollodorus, who wrote *The Parthica*, when he mentions the Greeks who caused Bactriana to revolt from the Syrian kings who succeeded Seleucus Nicator, says that when those kings had grown in power they also attacked India, but he reveals nothing further than what was already known, and even contradicts what was known, saying that those kings subdued more of India than the Macedonians; that Eucratidas, at any rate, held a thousand cities as his subjects. Those other writers, however, say that merely the tribes between the Hydaspes and the Hypanis were nine in number, and that they had five thousand cities, no one of which was smaller than the Meropian Cos, and that Alexander subdued the whole of this country and gave it over to Porus.

4. As for the merchants who now sail from Aegypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India, only a small number have sailed as far as the Ganges; and even these are merely private citizens and of no use as regards the history of the places they have seen. But from India, from one place and from one king, I mean Pandion, or another Porus, there came to Caesar Augustus presents and gifts

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conjecturing κατ' ἄλλους, which latter is followed by Kramer and Meineke; but the ἄλλου seems needed in view of the Porus mentioned in § 3 above.

καὶ ὁ κατακαύσας ἑαυτὸν Ἀθήνησι σοφιστῆς Ἰνδός, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Κάλανος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τοιαύτην θέαν ἐπιδειξάμενος.

5. Εἰ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς τις τὴν πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἐπιβλέποι μνήμην, πολὺ ἂν εὖροι τούτων τυφλότερα. Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὖν πιστεύειν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰκός, τετυφωμένοι ταῖς τοσαύταις εὐτυχίαις. φησὶ γοῦν Νέαρχος φιλονεικῆσαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἀγαγεῖν τὴν στρατιάν, πεπυσμένον διότι καὶ Σεμίραμις ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Κῦρος, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀνέστρεψε, φεύγουσα μετὰ εἴκοσι ἀνθρώπων, ἐκεῖνος δὲ μεθ' ἑπτά· ὥς σεμνὸν τό<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνων τοσαῦτα παθόντων, αὐτὸν καὶ <sup>2</sup> στρατόπεδον διασῶσαι μετὰ νίκης διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ τόπων· ἐκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ἐπίστευσεν.

6. Ἡμῖν δὲ τίς ἂν δικαία γένοιτο πίστις περὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατείας τοῦ Κύρου ἢ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος; συναποφαίνεται δέ πως καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, κελεύων ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις περὶ Ἰνδῶν ἱστορίαις· οὔτε γὰρ παρ' Ἰνδῶν ἔξω σταλῆναί ποτε στρατιάν, οὔτ' ἐπελθεῖν ἔξωθεν καὶ κρατῆσαι, πλὴν τῆς μεθ' Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου καὶ τῆς νῦν μετὰ Μακεδόνων. καίτοι Σέσωστριν μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Τεάρκωνα τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἕως Εὐρώπης προελ-

C 687 θεῖν· Ναβοκοδρόσορον δὲ τὸν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις

<sup>1</sup> For σεμνὸν τό Capps conj. σεμνόν τι.

<sup>2</sup> καί, omitted by C<sup>1</sup>moz.

<sup>1</sup> See 15. 1. 73.

<sup>2</sup> For a similar statement, see 15. 2. 5.

of honour and the Indian sophist who burnt himself up at Athens,<sup>1</sup> as Calanus had done, who made a similar spectacular display of himself before Alexander.

5. If, however, one should dismiss these accounts and observe the records of the country prior to the expedition of Alexander, one would find things still more obscure. Now it is reasonable to suppose that Alexander believed such records because he was blinded by his numerous good fortunes; at any rate, Nearchus says that Alexander conceived an ambition to lead his army through Gedrosia when he learned that both Semiramis and Cyrus had made an expedition against the Indians, and that Semiramis had turned back in flight with only twenty people and Cyrus with seven; and that Alexander thought how grand it would be, when those had met with such reverses, if he himself should lead a whole victorious army safely through the same tribes and regions.<sup>2</sup> Alexander, therefore, believed these accounts.

6. But as for us, what just credence can we place in the accounts of India derived from such an expedition made by Cyrus, or Semiramis? And Megasthenes virtually agrees with this reasoning when he bids us to have no faith in the ancient stories about the Indians; for, he says, neither was an army ever sent outside the country by the Indians nor did any outside army ever invade their country and master them, except that with Heracles and Dionysus and that in our times with the Macedonians. However, Sesostris, the Aegyptian, he adds, and Tearco the Aethiopian advanced as far as Europe; and Nabocodrosor, who enjoyed greater

εὐδοκίμησαντα. Ἡρακλέους μᾶλλον καὶ ἕως Στηλῶν ἐλάσαι· μέχρι μὲν δὴ δεῦρο καὶ Τεάρκωνα<sup>1</sup> ἀφικέσθαι· ἐκείνον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Θράκην καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν στρατιάν· Ἰδάνθυρσον δὲ τὸν Σκύθην ἐπιδραμεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου· τῆς δὲ Ἰνδικῆς μηδένα τούτων ἄψασθαι· καὶ Σεμίραμιν δ' ἀποθανεῖν πρὸ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως· Πέρσας δὲ μισθοφόρους μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μεταπέμψασθαι Ὑδρακας, ἐκεῖ δὲ μὴ στρατεῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν μόνον, ἥνίκα Κῦρος ἤλανεν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας.

7. Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πιστὰ ἡγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Βάκχαις ταῖς Εὐριπίδου Διόνυσος τοιαῦτα νεανιεύεται·

λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρύσους γύας  
Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν θ' ἡλιοβλήτους πλάκας  
Βάκτριά τε τείχη τὴν τε δύσχειμον χθόνα  
Μήδων ἐπῆλθον Ἀραβίαν εὐδαίμονα  
Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν.

παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ δέ τίς ἐστι τὴν Νῦσαν<sup>2</sup> καθυμνῶν, ὥς τὸ Διονύσῳ καθιερωμένον ὄρος·

ὄθεν κατεῖδον τὴν βεβακχιωμένην  
βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νῦσαν,<sup>3</sup> ἣν ὁ βούκερως  
Ἰακχος αὐτῷ μαῖαν ἡδίστην νέμει,  
ὅπου τίς ὄρνις οὐχὶ κλαγγάνει;

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ Μηροτραφῆς δὲ λέγεται·<sup>4</sup> καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Τεάρκον, F.

<sup>2</sup> Νῦσαν, C, Νύσαν other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Νῦσαν, the editors, for Νύσαν.

repute among the Chaldaeans than Heracles, led an army even as far as the Pillars. Thus far, he says, also Tearco went; and Sesostris also led his army from Iberia to Thrace and the Pontus; and Idanthysus the Scythian overran Asia as far as Aegypt; but no one of these touched India, and Semiramis too died before the attempt; and, although the Persians summoned the Hydraces as mercenary troops from India, the latter did not make an expedition to Persia, but only came near it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetae.

7. As for the stories of Heracles and Dionysus, Megasthenes with a few others considers them trustworthy; but most other writers, among whom is Eratosthenes, consider them untrustworthy and mythical, like the stories current among the Greeks. For instance, in the *Bacchae*<sup>1</sup> of Euripides Dionysus says with youthful bravado as follows: "I have left behind me the gold-bearing glades of Lydia and of Phrygia, and I have visited the sun-stricken plains of Persia, the walled towns of Bactria, the wintry land of the Medes, and Arabia the Blest, and the whole of Asia."<sup>2</sup> In Sophocles, also, there is someone who hymns the praises of Nysa as the mountain sacred to Dionysus: "Whence I beheld the famous Nysa, ranged in Bacchic frenzy by mortals, which the horned Iacchus roams as his own sweetest nurse, where—what bird exists that singeth not there?" And so forth. And he is also called "Merotraphes." And Homer says of

<sup>1</sup> 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted also in 1. 2. 20.

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<sup>4</sup> καὶ . . . λέγεται, Meineke ejects.

ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ Ἡδωνοῦ φησιν οὕτως·

ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιῳ Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας  
σεύε κατ' ἡγάθεον Νυσηῖον.

τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Διωνύσου· περὶ δὲ Ἡρακλέους οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰναντία μόνον μέχρι τῶν ἐσπερίων περάτων ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα.

8. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων Νυσαίους δὴ τινὰς ἔθνος προσωνόμασαν καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νῦσαν,<sup>1</sup> Διωνύσου κτίσμα, καὶ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Μηρόν, αἰτιασάμενοι καὶ τὸν αὐτόθι κισσὸν καὶ ἄμπελον, οὐδὲ ταύτην τελεσίκαρπον· ἀπορρεῖ γὰρ ὁ βότρυς πρὶν περκάσαι διὰ τοὺς ὄμβρους τοὺς ἄδην· Διωνύσου δ' ἀπογόνους τοὺς Συδράκας,<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν πολυτελῶν ἐξόδων, βακχικῶς τὰς τε ἐκστρα-  
C 688 τεΐας ποιουμένων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐξόδους μετὰ τυμπανισμοῦ καὶ εὐανθοῦς στολῆς· ὅπερ ἐπιπολάζει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς. Ἄορνον δέ τινα πέτραν, ἣς τὰς ρίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὑπορρεῖ πλησίον τῶν πηγῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ μίαν προσβολὴν ἐλόιτος, σεμνύνοντες ἔφασαν, τὸν Ἡρακλέα τρεῖς μὲν προσβαλεῖν τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ, τρεῖς δ' ἀποκρουσθῆναι. τῶν δὲ κοινωνη-  
σάντων αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοὺς Σίβας, σύμβολα τοῦ γένους σώζοντας, τό τε δορὰς ἀμπέχεσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ τὸ σκυταληφορεῖν καὶ ἐπικεκαῦσθαι βουσί καὶ ἡμιόνοις ῥόπαλον. βεβαιοῦνται δὲ τὸν μῦθον

<sup>1</sup> Νύσαν D.

<sup>2</sup> Συδράκας, C, Ὁξύδρακας Σύδρακας, s, Ὁξυδράκας other MSS.



Lycurgus the Edonian as follows: "who once drove the nurses of frenzied Dionysus down over the sacred mount of Nysa."<sup>1</sup> So much for Dionysus. But, regarding Heracles, some tell the story that he went in the opposite direction only, as far as the extreme limits on the west, whereas others say that he went to both extreme limits.

8. From such stories, accordingly, writers have named a certain tribe of people "Nysaeans," and a city among them "Nysa," founded by Dionysus; and they have named a mountain above the city "Merus," alleging as the cause of the name the ivy that grows there, as also the vine, which latter does not reach maturity either; for on account of excessive rains the bunches of grapes fall off before they ripen; and they say that the Sydracae are descendants of Dionysus, judging from the vine in their country and from their costly processions, since the kings not only make their expeditions out of their country in Bacchic fashion, but also accompany all other processions with a beating of drums and with flowered robes, a custom which is also prevalent among the rest of the Indians. When Alexander, at one assault, took Aornus, a rock at the foot of which, near its sources, the Indus River flows, his exalters said that Heracles thrice attacked this rock and thrice was repulsed; and that the Sibae were descendants of those who shared with Heracles in the expedition, and that they retained badges of their descent, in that they wore skins like Heracles, carried clubs, and branded their cattle and mules with the mark of a club. And they further confirm this

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 6. 132.

τοῦτον καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Καύκασον καὶ τὸν Προμηθέα· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα μετενηνόχασιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου δεῦρο ἀπὸ μικρᾶς προφάσεως, ἰδόντες σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς Παροπαμισάδαις ἱερόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνεδείξαντο Προμηθέως δεσμωτήριον, καὶ δεῦρο ἀφιγμένον τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τοῦ Προμηθέως, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Καύκασον, ὃν Ἕλληνες Προμηθέως δεσμωτήριον ἀπέφηναν.

9. Ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ πλάσματα ταῦτα τῶν κολακευόντων Ἀλέξανδρον, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς συγγραφέας δῆλον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴδ' ἀπλῶς μεμνήσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰκός, τὰ οὕτως ἔνδοξα καὶ τύφου πλήρη μὴ πεπύσθαι, ἢ πεπύσθαι μὲν, μὴ ἄξια δὲ μνήμης ὑπολαβεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ μὴδὲ τοὺς μεταξύ, δι' ὧν ἐχρῆν τὴν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίξιν γενέσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, μὴδὲν ἔχειν τεκμήριον δεικνύναι τῆς ἐκείνων ὁδοῦ διὰ τῆς σφετέρας γῆς. καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δὲ στολὴ ἢ τοιαύτη πολὺ νεωτέρα τῆς Τρωικῆς μνήμης ἐστί, πλάσμα τῶν τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ποιησάντων, εἴτε Πείσανδρος ἦν, εἴτ' ἄλλος τις· τὰ δ' ἀρχαῖα ξόανα οὐχ οὕτω διεσκευάσται.

10. Ὡς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖν ἀποδέχεσθαι δεῖ πᾶν τὸ ἐγγυτάτω πίστεως. ἐποησάμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις τοῖς περὶ γεωγραφίας δίαιταν, ἣν δυνατόν ἦν, περὶ τούτων· καὶ νῦν ἐκείνοις τε ἐξ ἐτοίμου χρησόμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα

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<sup>1</sup> *Adventures of Heracles.*

myth by the stories of the Caucasus and Prometheus, for they have transferred all this thither on a slight pretext, I mean because they saw a sacred cave in the country of the Paropamisadae; for they set forth that this cave was the prison of Prometheus and that this was the place whither Heracles came to release Prometheus, and that this was the Caucasus the Greeks declared to be the prison of Prometheus.

9. But that these stories are fabrications of the flatterers of Alexander is obvious; first, not only from the fact that the historians do not agree with one another, and also because, while some relate them, others make no mention whatever of them; for it is unreasonable to believe that exploits so famous and full of romance were unknown to any historian, or, if known, that they were regarded as unworthy of recording, and that too by the most trustworthy of the historians; and, secondly, from the fact that not even the intervening peoples, through whose countries Dionysus and Heracles and their followers would have had to pass in order to reach India, can show any evidence that these made a journey through their country. Further, such accoutrement of Heracles is much later than the records of the Trojan War, being a fabrication of the authors of the *Heracleia*,<sup>1</sup> whether the author was Peisander or someone else. The ancient statues of Heracles are not thus accoutred.

10. So, in cases like these, one must accept everything that is nearest to credibility. I have already in my first discussion of the subject of geography<sup>2</sup> made decisions, as far as I could, about these matters. And now I shall unhesitatingly use those decisions

<sup>1</sup> 2. 1. 1 ff.

C 689 προσθήσομεν, ὅσων ἂν δεῖν δόξη πρὸς τὴν σαφή-  
 νειαν. μάλιστα δ' ἐκ<sup>1</sup> τῆς διαίτης ἐδόκει τῆς  
 τότε πιστότατα εἶναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους  
 ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν ἐκτεθέντα κεφα-  
 λαιωδῶς περὶ τῆς τότε νομιζομένης Ἰνδικῆς,  
 ἥνικα Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆλθε· καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὄριον  
 ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριανῆς, ἣν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς τῇ  
 ἐσπέρα<sup>2</sup> κειμένην Πέρσαι κατεῖχον· ὕστερον γὰρ  
 δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀριανῆς πολλὴν ἔσχον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ  
 λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἔστι δὲ τοιαῦτα,  
 ἃ λέγει ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης.

11. Τὴν Ἰνδικὴν περιώρικεν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν  
 ἄρκτων τοῦ Ταύρου τὰ ἔσχατα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριανῆς  
 μέχρι τῆς ἐώας θαλάττης, ἅπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι  
 κατὰ μέρος Παροπάμισόν τε καὶ Ἡμωδὸν καὶ  
 Ἰμαον<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἄλλα ὀνομάζουσι, Μακεδόνες δὲ  
 Καύκασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσπέρας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμός·  
 τὸ δὲ νότιον καὶ τὸ προσεῶον πλευρόν, πολὺ  
 μείζω τῶν ἐτέρων ὄντα, προπέπτωκεν εἰς τὸ  
 Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος, καὶ γίνεται ῥομβοειδὲς τὸ  
 τῆς χώρας σχῆμα, τῶν μειζόνων πλευρῶν ἑκα-  
 τέρου πλεονεκτοῦντος παρὰ τὸ ἀπεναντίον πλευ-  
 ρὸν καὶ τρισχιλίοις σταδίοις, ὅσων<sup>4</sup> ἐστὶ τὸ  
 κοινὸν ἄκρον τῆς τε ἐωθινῆς παραλίας καὶ τῆς  
 μεσημβρινῆς, ἔξω προπεπτωκὸς ἐξ ἴσης ἐφ' ἑκά-  
 τερον παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἡϊόνα. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐσπε-  
 ρίου πλευρᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν Καυκασίων ὀρώων ἐπὶ τὴν  
 νότιον θάλατταν στάδιοι μάλιστα λέγονται μύριοι

<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐκ, Corais, for ἐκ; so Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> ἐσπέρα F, ἐσπερία other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰμαον, E, Māon CF, Μάον Dha.

<sup>4</sup> ὅσων, F, ὅσον other MSS.

as accepted, and shall also add anything else that seems required for the purpose of clearness. It was particularly apparent from my former discussion that the summary account set forth in the third book of his geography by Eratosthenes of what was in his time regarded as India, that is, when Alexander invaded the country, is the most trustworthy; and the Indus River was the boundary between India and Ariana, which latter was situated next to India on the west and was in the possession of the Persians at that time; for later the Indians also held much of Ariana, having received it from the Macedonians. And the account given by Eratosthenes is as follows:

11. India is bounded on the north, from Ariana to the eastern sea, by the extremities <sup>1</sup> of the Taurus, which by the natives are severally called "Paropamisus" and "Emodus" and "Imäus" and other names, but by the Macedonians "Caucasus"; on the west by the Indus River; but the southern and eastern sides, which are much greater than the other two, extend out into the Atlantic sea, and thus the shape of the country becomes rhomboidal, each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite side by as much as three thousand stadia, which is the same number of stadia by which the cape <sup>2</sup> common to the eastern and southern coast extends equally farther out in either direction than the rest of the shore. Now the length of the western side from the Caucasian Mountains to the southern sea is generally called thirteen thousand stadia,

<sup>1</sup> See 11. 8. 1 and footnote 3.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Cape Comorin.

τρισχίλιοι παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν αὐτοῦ· ὥστ' ἀπεναντίον ἡ ἑωθινὴ προσλαβοῦσα τοὺς τῆς ἄκρας τρισχιλίους ἔσται μυρίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πλάτος τῆς χώρας τό τ' ἐλάχιστον καὶ τὸ μέγιστον. μῆκος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω· τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν μέχρι Παλιβόθρων ἔχου τις ἂν βεβαιότερως εἰπεῖν, καταμεμέτρηται γὰρ σχοινίοις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔστιν ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ σταδίων μυρίων·<sup>2</sup> τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα στοχασμῶ λαμβάνεται διὰ τῶν ἀνάπλων τῶν ἐκ θαλάττης διὰ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ μέχρι Παλιβόθρων· εἴη δ' ἂν τι<sup>3</sup> σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων. ἔσται δὲ τὸ πᾶν, ἢ βραχύτατον, μυρίων ἑξακισχιλίων, ὥς ἔκ τε τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν σταθμῶν τῆς πεπιστευμένης μάλιστα λαβεῖν Ἑρατοσθένης φησί· καὶ ὁ Μεγασθένης οὕτω συναποφαίνεται, Πατροκλῆς δὲ χιλίοις ἑλαττόν φησι. τούτῳ δὲ πάλιν τῷ διαστήματι προστεθὲν τὸ τῆς ἄκρας διάστημα τὸ προπίπτον<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ πλεόν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, οἱ τρισχίλιοι στάδιοι ποιήσουσι τὸ μέγιστον μῆκος· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐξῆς ἡίονα, μέχρι τῆς λεχθείσης ἄκρας καὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν αὐτῆς θερμόνων· οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐνταῦθα οἱ Κωνιακοὶ καλούμενοι.

12. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάρεστιν ὁρᾶν ὅσον διαφέρουσιν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποφάσεις, Κτησίου μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας τὴν Ἰνδικὴν λέ-

<sup>1</sup> σχοινίοις, Corais emends to σχολίοις.

<sup>2</sup> μυρίων, Casaubon, for δισμυρίων; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> δ' ἀντί, CDFh; τι omitted by *moz.*

<sup>4</sup> προπίπτον, Corais, for προσπίπτον: so the later editors.



I mean along the Indus River to its outlets, so that the length of the opposite side, the eastern, if one adds the three thousand of the cape, will be sixteen thousand stadia. These, then, are the minimum and maximum breadths of the country. The lengths are reckoned from the west to the east; and, of these, that to Palibothra can be told with more confidence, for it has been measured with measuring-lines,<sup>1</sup> and there is a royal road of ten thousand stadia. The extent of the parts beyond Palibothra is a matter of guess, depending upon the voyages made from the sea on the Ganges to Palibothra; and this would be something like six thousand stadia. The entire length of the country, at its minimum, will be sixteen thousand stadia, as taken from the *Register of Days' Journeys* that is most commonly accepted, according to Eratosthenes; and, in agreement with him, Megasthenes states the same thing, though Patrocles says a thousand stadia less. If to this distance, however, one adds the distance that the cape extends out into the sea still farther towards the east, the extra three thousand stadia will form the maximum length;<sup>2</sup> and this constitutes the distance from the outlets of the Indus River along the shore that comes next in order thereafter, to the aforesaid cape, that is, to the eastern limits of India. Here live the Coniaci, as they are called.

12. From this one can see how much the accounts of the other writers differ. Ctesias says that India is not smaller than the rest of Asia; Onesicritus that

<sup>1</sup> Or, by a slight emendation of the text, "in terms of the schoenus" (see critical note and cf. 11. 14. 11).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 19,000 stadia.

C 690 γοντος, Ὀνησικρίτου δὲ τρίτον μέρος τῆς οἰκου-  
 μένης, Νεάρχου δὲ μηνῶν ὁδὸν τεττάρων τὴν δι'  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ πεδίου, Μεγασθένους δὲ καὶ Δηιμάχου  
 μετριασάντων μᾶλλον, ὑπὲρ γὰρ δισμυρίους  
 τιθέασι σταδίου τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νοτίου θαλάττης  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Καύκασον, Δηίμαχος δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς  
 τρισμυρίους κατ' ἐνίους τόπους· πρὸς οὓς ἐν τοῖς  
 πρώτοις λόγοις εἴρηται. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν  
 ἱκανόν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα συνηγορεῖ τοῖς αἰτουμένοις  
 συγγνώμην, ἐάν τι περὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν λέγοντες μὴ  
 δισχυρίζονται.

13. Ἄπασα δ' ἐστὶ κατάρρυτος ποταμοῖς ἢ  
 Ἰνδικῇ, τοῖς μὲν εἰς δύο τοὺς μεγίστους συρρηγνυ-  
 μένοις, τὸν τε Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Γάγγην, τοῖς δὲ κατ'  
 ἴδια στόματα ἐκδιδούσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν·  
 ἅπαντες δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι  
 καὶ φέρονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν τὸ πρῶτον,  
 εἴθ' οἱ μὲν μένουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φορᾶς, καὶ  
 μάλιστα οἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν συμβάλλοντες, οἱ δ'  
 ἐπιστρέφονται πρὸς ἔω, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Γάγγης  
 ποταμός. οὗτος μὲν οὖν καταβὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς  
 ἐπειδὰν ἄψηται τῶν πεδίων, ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς ἔω  
 καὶ ῥυεῖς παρὰ τὰ Παλίβοθρα, μεγίστην πόλιν,  
 πρόεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτη θάλατταν καὶ μίαν  
 ἐκβολὴν ποιεῖται, μέγιστος ὦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἰνδικὴν ποταμῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς δυσὶ στόμασιν εἰς  
 τὴν μεσημβρινὴν ἐκπίπτει θάλατταν, ἐμπερι-  
 λαμβάνων τὴν Παταληνὴν καλουμένην χώραν,  
 παραπλησίαν τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Δέλτα. ἐκ δὲ  
 τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως τῶν τοσούτων ποταμῶν καὶ  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐτησίων, ὥς Ἐρατοσθένους φησί, βρέχεται

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ, Meineke omits.

it is a third part of the inhabited world: Nearchus that the march merely through the plain itself takes four months; but Megasthenes and Deïmachus are more moderate in their estimates, for they put the distance from the southern sea to the Caucasus at "above twenty thousand stadia," although Deïmachus says that "at some places the distance is above thirty thousand stadia;" but I have replied to these writers in my first discussion of India.<sup>1</sup> At present it is sufficient to say that this statement of mine agrees with that of those writers who ask our pardon if, in anything they say about India, they do not speak with assurance.

13. The whole of India is traversed by rivers. Some of these flow together into the two largest rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, whereas others empty into the sea by their own mouths. They have their sources, one and all, in the Caucasus; and they all flow first towards the south, and then, though some of them continue to flow in the same direction, in particular those which flow into the Indus, others bend towards the east, as, for example, the Ganges. Now the Ganges, which is the largest of the rivers in India, flows down from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains bends towards the east and flows past Palibothra, a very large city, and then flows on towards the sea in that region and empties by a single outlet. But the Indus empties by two mouths into the southern sea, encompassing the country called Patalenê, which is similar to the Delta of Aegypt. It is due to the vapours arising from all these rivers and to the Etesian winds, as Eratosthenes says, that India is

<sup>1</sup> 2. 1. 4 ff.

τοῖς θερινοῖς ὄμβροισι ἢ Ἰνδικῇ, καὶ λιμνάζει τὰ πεδία· ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτοις τοῖς ὄμβροισι λίνον σπείρεται καὶ κέγχρος· πρὸς τούτοις σήσαμον, ὄρυζα, βόσμορον. τοῖς δὲ χειμερινοῖς καιροῖς πυροί, κριθαί, ὄσπρια καὶ ἄλλοι καρποὶ ἐδώδιμοι, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἄπειροι. σχεδὸν δέ τι τοῖς ἐν Αἰθιοπία καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὰ αὐτὰ φύεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς, πλὴν ἵππου ποταμίου, τὰ ἄλλα φέρουσι καὶ οἱ Ἰνδικοί· Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους γίνεσθαι φησι. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν μεσημβρινοὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν εἰσιν ὅμοιοι κατὰ τὴν χροιάν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν τρίχωσιν τοῖς ἄλλοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐλοτριχοῦσι διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα τοῦ ἀέρος), οἱ δὲ βόρειοι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις.

14. Τὴν δὲ Ταπροβάνην πελαγίαν εἶναί φασιν νῆσον, ἀπέχουσιν τῶν νοτιωτάτων τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Κωνιακοὺς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ πλοῦν, μῆκος μὲν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίων<sup>1</sup> σταδίων ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν· ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντας. τοιαῦται μὲν αἱ τοῦ Ἑρατοσθένους ἀποφάσεις. προστεθεῖσαι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἄλλων, εἴ  
C 691 πού τι προσακριβοῦσιν, ἰδιοποιήσουσι<sup>2</sup> τὴν γραφὴν.

15. Οἶον περὶ τῆς Ταπροβάνης Ὀνησίκριτός φησι, μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων, οὐ διορίσας μῆκος οὐδὲ πλάτος, διέχειν δὲ τῆς ἡπείρου πλοῦν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι· ἀλλὰ κακοπλοεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ὀκτακισχιλίων, Meineke, following Groskurd, emends to πεντακισχιλίων (see Groskurd, Vol. III, p. 117, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> For ἰδιοποιήσουσι, Corais and Meineke read εἰδοποιήσουσι.

watered by the summer rains and that the plains become marshes. Now in the rainy seasons flax is sown, and also millet, and, in addition to these, sesame and rice and bosmorum,<sup>1</sup> and in the winter seasons wheat and barley and pulse and other edibles with which we are unacquainted. I might almost say that the same animals are to be found in India as in Aethiopia and Aegypt, and that the Indian rivers have all the other river animals except the hippopotamus, although Onesicritus says that the hippopotamus is also to be found in India. As for the people of India, those in the south are like the Aethiopians in colour, although they are like the rest in respect to countenance and hair (for on account of the humidity of the air their hair does not curl), whereas those in the north are like the Aegyptians.

14. As for Taprobanê,<sup>2</sup> it is said to be an island situated in the high sea within a seven days' sail towards the south from the most southerly parts of India, the land of the Coniaci; that it extends in length about eight thousand stadia<sup>3</sup> in the direction of Aethiopia, and that it also has elephants. Such are the statements of Eratosthenes; but my own description will be specially characterised by the addition of the statements of the other writers, wherever they add any accurate information.

15. Onesicritus, for example, says of Taprobanê that it is "five thousand stadia in size," without distinguishing its length or breadth; and that it is a twenty days' voyage distant from the mainland, but

<sup>1</sup> See § 18 following.

<sup>2</sup> On Taprobanê (Ceylon), cf. Pliny 24 (22) ff.

<sup>3</sup> See 2. 1.14, where Strabo says five thousand (see critical note).

τὰς ναῦς, φαύλως μὲν ἰστιοπεποιημένας, κατεσκευασμένας δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν<sup>1</sup> ἐγκοιλίων μητρῶν<sup>2</sup> χωρίς· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νήσους αὐτῆς μεταξὺ καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, νοτιωτάτην δ' ἐκείνην. κήτη δ' ἀμφίβια περὶ αὐτὴν γίνεσθαι, τὰ μὲν βουσί, τὰ δ' ἵπποις, τὰ δ' ἄλλοις χερσαίοις ἐοικότα.

16. Νέαρχος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιχοῆς παραδείγματα φέρει τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι καὶ τὸ Ἑρμου, καὶ Καῦστρου πεδῖον καὶ Μαιάνδρου καὶ Καῖκου παραπλησίως εἴρηται, διὰ τὸ<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἐπιφορουμένην τοῖς πεδίοις χοῦν αὔξειν αὐτά, μᾶλλον δὲ γεννᾶν, ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταφερουμένην, ὅση εὐγεως καὶ μαλακῇ· καταφέρειν δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς, ὥστε τούτων ὡς ἂν γεννήματα ὑπάρχειν τὰ πεδία, καὶ εὖ λέγεσθαι, ὅτι τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ πεδία. τοῦτο δὲ ταυτόν ἐστι τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡροδότου λεχθέντι ἐπὶ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῆς ἐπ'<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ γῆς, ὅτι ἐκείνου δῶρόν ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο δ' ὀρθῶς καὶ ὁμώνυμον τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ φησὶ λεχθῆναι τὸν Νεῖλον ὁ Νέαρχος.

17. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ μόνα καὶ ὕεσθαι καὶ νίφεσθαι τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας φησί, τὰ πεδία δὲ καὶ ὄμβρων ὁμοίως ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ νιφετῶν, ἐπικλύζεσθαι δὲ μόνον κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν· νίφεσθαι μὲν οὖν τὰ ὄρη κατὰ χειμῶνα, τοῦ δὲ ἔαρος ἀρχομένου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Before ἐγκοιλίων Meineke inserts πρῶραις.

<sup>2</sup> μήτρων, DF<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> τό, Corais inserts ; so the later editors.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπ', Kramer, for ὑπ' ; so the later editors.

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny (6. 24 [22]) says, "navibus utrimque prorae, ne per angustias alvei circumagi sit necesse" ("the ships have prows

that it is a difficult voyage for ships that are poorly furnished with sails and are constructed without belly-ribs on both sides;<sup>1</sup> and that there are also other islands between Taprobanê and India, though Taprobanê is farthest south; and that amphibious monsters are to be found round it, some of which are like kine, others like horses, and others like other land-animals.

16. Nearchus, speaking of the alluvia deposited by the rivers, gives the following examples: that the Plain of the Hermus River, and that of the Cayster, as also those of the Maeander and the Caïcus, are so named because they are increased, or rather created, by the silt that is carried down from the mountains over the plains—that is all the silt that is fertile and soft; and that it is carried down by the rivers, so that the plains are, in fact, the offspring, as it were, of these rivers; and that it is well said that they belong to these. This is the same as the statement made by Herodotus in regard to the Nile and the land that borders thereon, that the land is the gift of the Nile;<sup>2</sup> and for this reason Nearchus rightly says that the Nile was also called by the same name as the land Aegyptus.

17. Aristobulus says that only the mountains and their foothills have both rain and snow, but that the plains are free alike from rain and snow, and are inundated only when the rivers rise; that the mountains have snow in the winter-time, and at the at either end, in order that it may not be necessary to tack while navigating the narrow passages of the channel"). Meineke, following the conjecture of Kramer, emends the words of Strabo to make them more in accord with those of Pliny (see critical note).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 1. 2. 29.

τοὺς ὄμβρους ἐνάρχεσθαι, καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν, τοῖς δ' ἐτησίαις<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκχεῖσθαι καὶ λάβρους ἕως ἐπιτολῆς Ἀρκτούρου· ἔκ τε δὴ τῶν χιόνων καὶ τῶν ὑετῶν πληρουμένους ποταμοὺς<sup>2</sup> ποτίζειν τὰ πεδία. κατανοηθῆναι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων φησίν, ὠρμηκότες μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀπὸ Παροπαμισαδῶν μετὰ δυσμᾶς Πληιάδων, καὶ διατριψάντων κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἔν τε τῇ Ὑπασίων καὶ τῇ Ἀσσακανοῦ<sup>3</sup> γῇ τὸν χειμῶνα, τοῦ δ' ἔαρος ἀρχομένου καταβεβηκότες εἰς τὰ πεδία καὶ πόλιν Τάξιλα εὐμεγέθη, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὴν Πώρου χώραν· τοῦ μὲν οὖν χειμῶνος ὕδωρ οὐκ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰ χιόνας μόνον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ταξίλοις πρῶτον ὑσθῆναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καταβᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ νικήσασιν Πῶρον ὁδὸς ἣν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν πρὸς ἕω κἀκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην πάλιν, ὕεσθαι συνεχῶς, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐτησίαις, ἐπιτεΐλαντος δὲ Ἀρκτούρου, γενέσθαι παῦλαν· διατρίψαντας δὲ περὶ τὴν ναυπηγίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ καὶ πλεῖν ἀρξαμένους πρὸ δύσεως Πληιάδος οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον πᾶν καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔαρ καὶ θέρος ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ πραγματευθέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Παταληνὴν περὶ Κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν· δέκα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κατάπλου γενέσθαι μῆνας, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ὑετῶν αἰσθέσθαι, οὐδ' ὅτε ἐπήκμασαν οἱ ἐτησίαι, τῶν δὲ ποταμῶν πληρουμένων τὰ πεδία κλύζεσθαι, τὴν

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<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δ' ἐτησίαις, Tyrwhitt, for τοῖς δὲ τῆς ἀσίας; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> ποταμοῖς, inserted by Groskurd; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀσσακανοῦ, Corais, for Μουσικανοῦ; so the later editors.



beginning of spring-time the rains also set in and ever increase more and more, and at the time of the Etesian winds the rains pour unceasingly and violently from the clouds, both day and night, until the rising of Arcturus; and that, therefore, the rivers, thus filled from both the snows and the rains, water the plains. He says that both he himself and the others noted this when they had set out for India from Paropamisadae, after the setting of the Pleiades, and when they spent the winter near the mountainous country in the land of the Hypasians and of Assacanus, and that at the beginning of spring they went down into the plains and to Taxila, a large city, and thence to the Hydaspes River and the country of Porus; that in winter, however, no water was to be seen, but only snow; and that it first rained at Taxila; and that when, after they had gone down to the Hydaspes River and had conquered Porus, their journey led to the Hypanis River towards the east and thence back again to the Hydaspes, it rained continually, and especially at the time of the Etesian winds; but that when Arcturus rose, the rain ceased; and that after tarrying while their ships were being built on the Hydaspes River, and after beginning their voyage thence only a few days before the setting of the Pleiades, and, after occupying themselves all autumn and winter and the coming spring and summer with their voyage down to the seacoast, they arrived at Patalenê at about the time of the rising of the Dog Star; that the voyage down to the seacoast therefore took ten months, and that they saw rains nowhere, not even when the Etesian winds were at their height, and that the plains were flooded when the rivers

δὲ θάλατταν ἄπλουν εἶναι τῶν ἀνέμων ἀντιπνεόντων, ἀπογαίας<sup>1</sup> δὲ μηδεμιᾶς πνοῆς ἐκδεξαμένης.

18. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁ Νέαρχος λέγει, περὶ δὲ τῶν θερινῶν ὄμβρων οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, ἀλλὰ φησιν ὕεσθαι τὰ πεδία θέρους, χειμῶνος δ' ἀνομβρα εἶναι. λέγουσι δ' ἀμφοτέροι καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν. ὁ μὲν γε Νέαρχος τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πλησίον στρατοπεδεύοντάς<sup>3</sup> φησιν ἀναγκασθῆναι μεταλαβεῖν τόπον ἄλλον ὑπερδέξιον κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς· ὁ δ' Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ μέτρα τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐκτίθεται τετταράκοντα πήχεις, ὧν τοὺς μὲν εἴκοσιν ὑπὲρ τὸ προὔπάρχον βάθος πληροῦν μέχρι χείλους τὸ ρεῖθρον, τοῖς δ' <sup>4</sup> εἴκοσιν ὑπέρχουσιν εἶναι εἰς τὰ πεδία. ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ διότι συμβαίνει νησιζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐπάνω χωμάτων ἰδρυμένας, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λίθιοπιά, μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκτοῦρον παύεσθαι τὴν πλήμμυραν, ἀποβαίνοντος τοῦ ὕδατος· ἔτι ἡμίψυκτον σπείρεσθαι τὴν γῆν, ὑπὸ<sup>5</sup> τοῦ τυχόντος<sup>6</sup> ὀρύκτου χαραχθεῖσαν, καὶ ὅμως φύεσθαι τὸν καρπὸν τέλειον καὶ καλόν. τὴν δ' ὄρυζάν φησιν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἐστάιαι ἐν ὕδατι κλειστῷ, πρασιὰς δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐχούσας αὐτήν· ὕψος δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ τετράπηχυ, πολύσταχύ τε καὶ πολύκαρπον· θερίζεσθαι δὲ περὶ δύσιν Πληιάδος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπογαίας, Corais, for ἀπὸ γαίας; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτό, Xylander, for αὐτοί; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> στρατοπεδεύοντας, Tzschucke, for στρατεύοντα E, στρατοπεδεύοντος other MSS.; so the later editors.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς δέ F(?)xz Tzschucke and Corais.

were filled, and the sea was not navigable when the winds were blowing in the opposite direction, and that no land breezes succeeded them.

18. Now this is precisely what Nearchus says too, but he does not agree with Aristobulus about the summer rains, saying that the plains have rains in summer but are without rains in winter. Both writers, however, speak also of the risings of the rivers. Nearchus says that when they were camping near the Acesines River they were forced at the time of the rising to change to a favourable place higher up, and that this took place at the time of the summer solstice; whereas Aristobulus gives also the measure of the height to which the river rises, forty cubits, of which cubits twenty are filled by the stream above its previous depth to the margin and the other twenty are the measure of the overflow in the plains. They agree also that the cities situated on the top of mounds become islands, as is the case also in Aegypt and Aethiopia, and that the overflows cease after the rising of Arcturus, when the waters recede; and they add that although the soil is sown when only half-dried, after being furrowed by any sort of digging-instrument,<sup>1</sup> yet the plant comes to maturity and yields excellent fruit. The rice, according to Aristobulus, stands in water enclosures and is sown in beds; and the plant is four cubits in height, not only having many ears but also yielding much grain; and the harvest is about the time of the setting of the Pleiades, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 7. 4. 6 and footnote on "digging-instrument."

<sup>5</sup> ὑπό, Corais, for ἀπό; so the later editors.

<sup>6</sup> τυχόντος, E, ψύχοντος other MSS.

πίσσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ὡς τὰς ζειάς· φύεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βακτριανῇ καὶ Βαβυλωνίᾳ καὶ Σουσίδι, καὶ ἡ κάτω δὲ Συρία φύει. Μέγιλλος δὲ τὴν ὄρυζαν σπείρεσθαι μὲν πρὸ τῶν ὄμβρων φησὶν, ἀρδεΐας δὲ καὶ φυτείας<sup>2</sup> δεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν κλειστῶν ποτιζομένην ὑδάτων. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βοσμόρου<sup>3</sup> φησὶν Ὀνησίκριτος, διότι σῖτός<sup>4</sup> ἐστὶ μικρότερος τοῦ πυροῦ· γεννᾶται δ' ἐν ταῖς μεσοποταμίαις. φρύγεται δ', ἐπὰν ἀλοηθῇ, προομνύντων μὴ ἀποίσειν ἄπυρον ἐκ τῆς ἄλλω τοῦ μὴ ἐξάγεσθαι σπέρμα.

C 693 19. Τὴν δ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς χώρας ταύτης πρὸς τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἐναντιότητα παραθεῖς ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος, διότι τῷ Νείλῳ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νοτίων ὄμβρων ἐστὶν ἡ πλήρωσις, τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς δὲ ποταμοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν, ζητεῖ, πῶς οἱ μεταξὺ τόποι οὐ κατομβροῦνται· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Θηβαῖς μέχρι Συήνης καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς Μερόης, οὔτε τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Παταληνῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ὑδάσπου. τὴν δ' ὑπὲρ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη χώραν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὄμβροι καὶ νιφετοι, παραπλησίως ἔφη γεωργεῖσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ τῇ ἔξω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρα· ποτίζεσθαι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ὄμβρων καὶ χιόνων. εἰκὸς δ' οἷς εἴρηκεν οὗτος καὶ εὖσειστον εἶναι τὴν γῆν, χαυνουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς ὑγρασίας καὶ ἐκρήγματα λαμβάνουσαν, ὥστε καὶ ρεῖθρα ποταμῶν ἀλλάττεσθαι. πεμφθεὶς γοῦν ἐπὶ τινα χρεῖαν ἰδεῖν φησιν ἐρημωθείσαν

<sup>1</sup> πίσσεσθαι, sec. man. in D, for πτίξεσθαι CEFaz, πίξεσθαι sv, βαπτίζεσθαι m.

<sup>2</sup> Corais inserts μή before δεῖσθαι; so Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> ὄν, after βοσμόρου, Corais ejects; so later editors.

the grain is winnowed like barley; and rice grows also in Bactriana and Babylonia and Susis, as also in Lower Syria. Megillus says that rice is sown before the rains, but requires irrigation and transplanting,<sup>1</sup> being watered from tanks. Bosmorum, according to Onesicritus, is a smaller grain than wheat; and it grows in lands situated between rivers. It is roasted when it is threshed out, since the people take an oath beforehand that they will not carry it away unroasted from the threshing-floor, to prevent the exportation of seed.

19. Aristobulus, comparing the characteristics of this country that are similar to those of both Aegypt and Aethiopia, and again those that are opposite thereto, I mean the fact that the Nile is flooded from the southern rains, whereas the Indian rivers are flooded from the northern, inquires why the intermediate regions have no rainfall; for neither the Thebaïs as far as Syenê and the region of Meroê nor the region of India from Patalenê as far as the Hydaspes has any rain. But the country above these parts, in which both rain and snow fall, are cultivated, he says, in the same way as in the rest of the country that is outside India; for, he adds, it is watered by the rains and snows. And it is reasonable to suppose from his statements that the land is also quite subject to earthquakes, since it is made porous by reason of its great humidity and is subject to such fissures that even the beds of rivers are changed. At any rate, he says that when he was sent upon a certain mission he saw a country

<sup>1</sup> See critical note.

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<sup>4</sup> σῆτος, Epit., σερτός other MSS. ; so the editors.

χώραν πλειόνων ἢ χιλίων πόλεων σὺν κώμαις, ἐκλιπόντος τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον ρεῖθρον, ἐκτραπομένου δ' εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κοιλότερον πολὺ, καὶ οἶον καταρράξαντος, ὥς τὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ἐν δεξιᾷ χώραν μηκέτι ποτίζεσθαι ταῖς ὑπερχύσεσι, μετεωροτέραν οὔσαν οὐ τοῦ ρεῖθρου τοῦ καινοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπερχύσεων.

20. Ταῖς δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν πληρώσει καὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀπογαίους μὴ πνεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀνησικρίτου· τεναγώδη γάρ φησιν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰ στόματα τῶν ποταμῶν, διὰ τε τὴν χοῦν καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὴν τῶν πελαγίων ἀνέμων ἐπικράτειαν. Μεγασθένης δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐπισημαίνεται τῷ δίκارπον εἶναι καὶ δίφορον· καθάπερ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἔφη, τὸν μὲν εἰπὼν σπóρον χειμερινόν, τὸν δὲ θερινόν, καὶ ὄμβρον ὁμοίως· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔτος εὐρίσκεσθαι φησι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καιροὺς ἄνομβρον· ὥστ' εὐετηρίαν ἐκ τούτου συμβαίνειν, ἀφόρου μηδέποτε τῆς γῆς οὔσης· τοὺς τε ξυλίλους καρποὺς γεννᾶσθαι πολλοὺς καὶ τὰς ῥίζας τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μεγάλων καλίμων, γλυκείας καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐψήσει, χλιανομένου τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖς ἡλίοις τοῦ τ' ἐκπίπτοντος ἐκ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ ποταμίου. τρόπον δὴ τινα λέγειν βούλεται, διότι ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις λεγομένη πέψις καὶ καρπῶν καὶ χυμῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἔψησις ἐστι, καὶ κατεργάζεται τοσοῦτον εἰς εὐστομίαν, ὅσον καὶ ἡ διὰ πυρός· διὸ καὶ τοὺς κλάδους φησὶν εὐκαμπεῖς εἶναι τῶν δένδρων, ἐξ

of more than a thousand cities, together with villages, that had been deserted because the Indus had abandoned its proper bed, and had turned aside into the other bed on the left that was much deeper, and flowed with precipitous descent like a cataract, so that the Indus no longer watered by its overflows the abandoned country on the right, since that country was now above the level, not only of the new stream, but also of its overflows.

20. The flooding of the rivers and the absence of land breezes is confirmed also by the statement of Onesicritus; for he says that the seashore is covered with shoal-water, and particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt, the flood-tides, and the prevalence of the winds from the high seas. Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by saying that it produces fruit and grain twice a year. And so says Eratosthenes, who speaks of the winter sowing and the summer sowing, and likewise of rain; for he says that he finds that no year is without rain in both seasons; so that, from this fact, the country has good seasons, never failing to produce crops; and that the trees there produce fruits in abundance, and the roots of plants, in particular those of large reeds, which are sweet both by nature and by heating, since the water from the sky as well as that of the rivers is warmed by the rays of the sun. In a sense, therefore, Eratosthenes means to say that what among other peoples is called "the ripening," whether of fruits or of juices, is called among those people a "heating," and that ripening is as effective in producing a good flavour as heating by fire. For this reason also, he adds, the branches of the trees from which the wheels of carriages are

ὧν οἱ τροχοί· ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἐνίοις καὶ ἐπανθεῖν ἔριον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ Νέαρχός φησι τὰς εὐητρίους ὑφαίνεσθαι σινδόνας, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἀντὶ κναφάλων<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς C 694 σάγμασι σάγης·<sup>2</sup> τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Σηρικά, ἔκ τινων φλοιῶν ξαινομένης βύσσου. εἶρηκε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν καλάμων, ὅτι ποιοῦσι μέλι, μελισσῶν μὴ οὐσῶν· καὶ<sup>3</sup> γὰρ<sup>4</sup> δένδρον εἶναι καρποφόρον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ καρποῦ συντίθεσθαι μέλι, τοὺς δὲ φαγόντας ὠμοῦ τοῦ καρποῦ<sup>5</sup> μεθύειν.

21. Πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δένδρα παράδοξα ἢ Ἰνδικῇ τρέφει, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κίτω νεύοντας ἔχον τοὺς κλάδους, τὰ δὲ φύλλα ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἐλάττω. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ περιεργότερον τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουσικανοῦ διεξιῶν, ἃ φησι νοτιώτατα εἶναι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, διηγεῖται μεγάλα δένδρα τινά, ὧν τοὺς κλάδους αὐξηθέϊτας ἐπὶ πήχεις καὶ δώδεκα, ἔπειτα τὴν λοιπὴν αὐξησιν καταφερῇ λαμβάνειν, ὥς ἂν κατακαμπτομένους, ἕως ἂν ἄψωνται τῆς γῆς· ἔπειτα κατὰ γῆς διαδοθέντας ῥιζοῦσθαι ὁμοίως ταῖς κατώρυξιν, εἴτ' ἀναδοθέντας στελεχοῦσθαι· ἐξ οὗ πάλιν ὁμοίως τῇ αὐξήσει κατακαμφθέντας<sup>6</sup> ἄλλην κατώρυγα ποιεῖν εἴτ' ἄλλην, καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς, ὥστ' ἀφ' ἐνὸς δένδρου σκιάδιον γίνεσθαι<sup>7</sup> μακρόν, πολυστύλῳ σκηνῇ

<sup>1</sup> κναφάλων, CF, κναφίλων other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> σάγης, Tzschucke, for σάγην; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> καί, EFx, οὐ other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> γὰρ x omits; so Tzschucke and Corais.

<sup>5</sup> συντίθεσθαι . . . καρποῦ omitted by all MSS. except EF, but quoted by Eustathius (note on *Dionysius* 1125).

<sup>6</sup> κατακαμφθέντας, Corais, for κατακαμφθέντα.

<sup>7</sup> γίνεσθαι, Corais, for γενέσθαι; so the later editors.



made are flexible; and for the same reason even wool<sup>1</sup> blossoms on some. From this wool, Nearchus says, finely threaded cloths are woven, and the Macedonians use them for pillows and as padding for their saddles. The Serica<sup>2</sup> also are of this kind, Byssus<sup>3</sup> being dried out of certain barks. He states also concerning the reeds,<sup>4</sup> that they produce honey, although there are no bees, and in fact that there is a fruit-bearing tree from the fruit of which honey is compounded, but that those who eat the fruit raw become intoxicated.

21. In truth, India produces numerous strange trees, among which is the one whose branches bend downwards and whose leaves are no smaller than a shield. Onesicritus, who even in rather superfluous detail describes the country of Musicanus, which, he says, is the most southerly part of India, relates that it has some great trees whose branches have first grown to the height of twelve cubits, and then, after such growth, have grown downwards, as though bent down, till they have touched the earth; and that they then, thus distributed, have taken root underground like layers, and then, growing forth, have formed trunks; and that the branches of these trunks again, likewise bent down in their growth, have formed another layer, and then another, and so on successively, so that from only one tree there is formed a vast sunshade, like a tent with many

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* cotton.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the threads of which the Seres make their garments (see Pausanias 6. 26. 4 and Frazer's note thereon).

<sup>3</sup> By "Byssus" Strabo undoubtedly means *silk*, supposing it to be a kind of *cotton* (see Miss Richter's article on "Silk in Greece," *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Jan.-March, 1929, pp. 27-33).

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* sugar-cane.

ὅμοιον. λέγει δὲ καὶ μεγέθη δένδρων, ὥστε πέντε ἀνθρώποις δυσπερίληπτα εἶναι τὰ στελέχη. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὴν συμβολὴν τὴν πρὸς Ἱάρωτιν καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος εἶρηκε περὶ τῶν κατακαμπτομένους ἔχόντων τοὺς κλάδους καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους, ὥσθ' ὑφ' ἐνὶ δένδρῳ μεσημβρίζειν σκιαζομένους ἱππέας πεντήκοντα· οὗτος δὲ τετρακοσίους. λέγει δὲ ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐ μέγα, λοπούς<sup>1</sup> ἔχον, ὡς ὁ κύαμος, δεκαδακτύλους τὸ μῆκος, πλήρεις μέλιτος· τοὺς δὲ φαγόντας οὐ ραδίως σώζεσθαι. ἅπαντας δ' ὑπερβέβληνται περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν δένδρων οἱ φήσαντες ἐωρᾶσθαι πέραν τοῦ Ἱαρώτιδος δένδρον ποιοῦν σκιὰν ταῖς μεσημβρίαις πενταστάδιον. καὶ τῶν ἐριοφόρων δένδρων φησὶν οὗτος τὸ ἄνθος ἔχειν πυρῆνα· ἐξαιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου, ξαίνεισθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐρέαις.

22. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μουσικανοῦ καὶ σῖτον αὐτοφυῆ λέγει πυρῶ παραπλήσιον καὶ ἄμπελον, ὥστ' οἰνοφορεῖν, τῶν ἄλλων ἄοινον λεγόντων τὴν Ἰνδικήν· ὥστε μὴδ' αὐλὸν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, μήτ' ἄλλο<sup>2</sup> τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων μὴδὲν πλὴν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κροτάλων, ἃ τοὺς θαυματοποιοὺς κεκτῆσθαι. καὶ πολυφάρμακον δὲ καὶ πολύρριζον τῶν τε σωτηρίων καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥσπερ καὶ πολυχρώματον καὶ οὗτος εἶρηκε, καὶ ἄλλοι γε. προστίθησι δ' οὗτος, ὅτι καὶ νόμος εἶη τὸν ἀνευρόντα τι τῶν ὀλεθρίων, εἰ μὴ προσανεύρη καὶ τὸ ἄκος αὐτοῦ, θανα-

C 695 τοῦσθαι· ἀνευρόντα δὲ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> οὐ μεγαλολεπισματαπους CDFh.

<sup>2</sup> F reads τι after ἄλλο.

supporting columns.<sup>1</sup> He says also of the size of the trees that their trunks could hardly be embraced by five men. Aristobulus also, where he mentions the Acesines and its confluence with the Hyarotis, speaks of the trees that have their branches bent downwards and of such size that fifty horsemen—according to Onesicritus, four hundred—can pass the noon in shade under one tree. Aristobulus mentions also another tree, not large, with pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey, and says that those who eat it cannot easily be saved from death. But the accounts of all writers of the size of the trees have been surpassed by those who say that there has been seen beyond the Hyarotis a tree which casts a shade at noon of five stadia. And as for the wool-bearing trees, Aristobulus says that the flower contains a seed, and that when this is removed the rest is combed like wool.

22. Aristobulus speaks also of a self-grown grain, similar to wheat, in the country of Musicanus, and of a vine from which wine is produced, although the other writers say that India has no wine; and therefore, according to Anacharsis, it also has no flutes, or any other musical instruments except cymbals and drums and castanets, which are possessed by the jugglers. Both he and other writers speak of this country as abounding in herbs and roots both curative and poisonous, and likewise in plants of many colours. And Aristobulus adds that they have a law whereby any person who discovers anything deadly is put to death unless he also discovers a cure for it, but if that person discovers a

<sup>1</sup> The banyan tree (*Ficus Bengalensis*).

βασιλεῦσιν. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κιννάμωμον καὶ νάρδον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁρώματα τὴν νότιον γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἔχουσάν τι ἐμφερὲς ἐκείναις κατὰ τοὺς ἡλίους· διαφέρειν δὲ τῷ πλεονασμῷ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὥστ' ἔνικμον εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τροφιμώτερον παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ γόνιμον μᾶλλον, ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ· ἧ δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ μείζω τὰ τε χερσαῖα τῶν ζώων καὶ τὰ καθ' ὕδατος τὰ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις εὐρίσκεσθαι· καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον δ' εἶναι γόνιμον μᾶλλον ἐτέρων καὶ μεγαλοφυῆ<sup>2</sup> γεννᾶν καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ τὰ ἀμφίβια, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τετράδυμα τίκτειν τὰς Αἰγυπτίας. Ἀριστοτέλης δέ τινα καὶ ἐπτάδυμα<sup>3</sup> ἱστορεῖ τετοκέναι, καὶ αὐτὸς πολύγονον καλῶν τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τρόφιμον διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων μετρίαν ἔψησιν, αὐτὸ καταλειπόντων<sup>4</sup> τὸ τρόφιμον, τὸ δὲ περιττὸν ἐκθυμιόντων.

23. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν εἰκός, ὅπερ φησὶν οὗτος, ὅτι τῷ ἡμίσει πυρὶ ἔψει τὸ<sup>5</sup> τοῦ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ ἢ τὰ ἄλλα. ὅσῳ δέ γέ φησι τὸ μὲν τοῦ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ δι' εὐθείας ἔπεισι πολλὴν χώραν καὶ στενὴν καὶ μεταβάλλει πολλὰ κλίματα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀέρας, τὰ δ' Ἰνδικὰ ρεύματα ἐς πεδία ἀναχεῖται μείζω καὶ πλατύτερα, ἐνδιατρίβοντα πολλὸν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς κλίμασι,

<sup>1</sup> ἧ δὲ, Corais, for ἥδη; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> μεγαλοφυῆ, Xylander, for μεγαλοφυεῖν; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐπτάδυμα, Corais reads πεντάδυμα, following Gellius 10. 2, and Aristotle's *Hist. An.* 7. 4 and *De Generat.* 4. 4.

<sup>4</sup> καταλειπόντων, Corais, for καταλιπόντων; so the later editors.

cure he receives a reward from the king. And he says that the southern land of India, like Arabia and Aethiopia, bears cinnamon, nard, and other aromatic products, being similar to those countries in the effect of the rays of sun, although it surpasses them in the copiousness of its waters; and that therefore its air is humid and proportionately more nourishing and more productive; and that this applies both to the land and to the water, and therefore, of course, both land and water animals in India are found to be larger than those in other countries; but that the Nile is more productive than other rivers, and produces huge creatures, among others the amphibious kind; and that the Aegyptian women sometimes actually bear four children. Aristotle reports that one woman actually bore seven; and he, too, calls the Nile highly productive and nourishing because of the moderate heat of the sun's rays, which, he says, leave the nourishing element and evaporate merely the superfluous.

23. It is probably from the same cause, as Aristotle says, that this too takes place—I mean that the water of the Nile boils with one-half the heat required by any other. But in proportion, he says, as the water of the Nile traverses in a straight course a long and narrow tract of country and passes across many “climata”<sup>1</sup> and through many atmospheres, whereas the streams of India spread into greater and wider plains, lingering for a long time in the same “climata,” in the same proportion those of India are more nourishing than those of the Nile; and on

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* “belts of latitude” (see Vol. I, p. 22, footnote 2).

<sup>5</sup> *πυρὶ ἔψει τό*, Kramer, for *περιψέϊτο* F, *πυρὶ ἐψέϊτο* Di *πυρὶ ἐψέϊται* other MSS.

τοσῶδε ἐκεῖνα τούτου τροφιμώτερα, διότι καὶ τὰ κήτη μείζω τε καὶ πλείω· καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν δὲ ἐφθὸν ἤδη χεῖσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ.

24. Τοῦτο δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ Ἀριστοβουλον οὐκ ἂν συγχωροῖεν οἱ φάσκοντες μὴ ὕεσθαι τὰ πεδιά. Ὀνησικρίτω δὲ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ὕδωρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζώοις ἰδιωμάτων, καὶ φέρει σημεῖον τὸ καὶ τὰς χροὰς τῶν πιόντων βοσκημάτων ξενικῶν ἀλλάττεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιχώριον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εὖ· οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ μέλανας εἶναι καὶ οὐλότριχας τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐν ψιλοῖς τοῖς ὕδασι τὴν αἰτίαν τιθέναι, μέμφεσθαι δὲ τὸν Θεοδέκτην εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον ἀναφέροντα τὸ αἴτιον, ὅς φησιν οὕτως·

οἷς ἀγχιτέρμων ἥλιος διφρηλατῶν  
σκοτεινὸν ἄνθος ἐξέχρωσε λιγνύος  
εἰς σώματ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ συνέστρεψεν κόμας  
μορφαῖς ἀναυξήτοισι συντήξας πυρός.

ἔχοι δ' ἂν τινα λόγον· φησὶ γὰρ μήτε ἐγγυτέρω τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κατὰ κἀθετον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικαίεσθαι πλέον, ὥστ' οὐκ εὖ λέγεσθαι ἀγχιτέρμονα αὐτοῖς τὸν ἥλιον, ἴσον πάντων διέχοντα, μήτε τὸ θάλπος εἶναι τοῦ τοιούτου πάθους αἴτιον·  
C 696 μηδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν γαστρὶ, ὧν οὐχ ἄπτεται ἥλιος. βελτίους δὲ οἱ τὸν ἥλιον αἰτιώμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐπίκαισιν, κατ' ἐπίλειψιν σφοδρὰν τῆς ἐπιπολῆς ἰκμάδος· καθ' ὃ καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς μὴ

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, Casaubon, for τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, CDFhiv, τὴν οὐτοῦ Emoxz.

this account their river animals are also larger and more numerous; and further, he says, the water is already heated when it pours from the clouds.

24. To this statement Aristobulus and his followers, who assert that the plains are not watered by rain, would not agree. But Onesicritus believes that rain-water is the cause of the distinctive differences in the animals; and he adduces as evidence that the colour of foreign cattle which drink it is changed to that of the native animals. Now in this he is correct; but no longer so when he lays the black complexion and woolly hair of the Aethiopians on merely the waters and censures Theodectes,<sup>1</sup> who refers the cause to the sun itself, saying as follows: "Nearing the borders of these people the Sun, driving his chariot, discoloured the bodies of men with a murky dark bloom, and curled their hair, fusing it by unincreasable forms of fire." But Onesicritus might have some argument on his side; for he says that, in the first place, the sun is no nearer to the Aethiopians than to any other people, but is more nearly in a perpendicular line with reference to them and on this account scorches more, and therefore it is incorrect to say, "Nearing the borders . . . the sun," since the sun is equidistant from all peoples; and that, secondly, the heat is not the cause of such a discoloration, for it does not apply to infants in the womb either, since the rays of the sun do not touch them. But better is the opinion of those who lay the cause to the sun and its scorching, which causes a very great deficiency of moisture on the surface of the skin. And I assert that it is in accordance

<sup>1</sup> "Theodectas" is probably the correct spelling (see I. G. II, 977).

οὐλοτριχεῖν φαμεν, μηδ' οὕτως ἀπεφεισμέως<sup>1</sup> ἐπικεκαῦσθαι τὴν χροάν, ὅτι ὑγροῦ κοινωνοῦσιν αἲρος. ἐν δὲ τῇ γαστρὶ ἤδη κατὰ σπερματικὴν διάδοσιν<sup>2</sup> τοιαῦτα γίνεται, οἷα τὰ γεννῶντα· καὶ γὰρ πάθη συγγενικὰ οὕτω λέγεται καὶ ἄλλαι ὁμοιότητες. καὶ τὸ πάντων δ' ἴσον ἀπέχειν τὸν ἥλιον πρὸς αἴσθησιν λέγεται, οὐ πρὸς λόγον· καὶ πρὸς αἴσθησιν, οὐχ ὥς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὥς φαμεν σημείου λόγον ἔχειν τὴν γῆν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου σφαῖραν· ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὴν τοιαύτην αἴσθησιν, καθ' ἣν θάλπους ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα, ἐγγύθεν μὲν μᾶλλον, πόρρωθεν δὲ ἦττον, οὐκ ἴσον· οὕτω δ' ἀγχιτέρμων ὁ ἥλιος λέγεται τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν, οὐχ ὥς Ὀνησικρίτῳ δέδοκται.<sup>3</sup>

25. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν σωζόντων τὴν πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ὅτι, τῶν πεδίων ὅσα μὴ ἐπὶ κλυστα, ἄκαρπά ἐστι διὰ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν. Νέαρχος δὲ τὸ ζητούμενον πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Νείλου, πόθεν ἢ πλήρωσις αὐτοῦ, διδάσκειν ἔφη τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς ποταμοὺς, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν θερινῶν ὄμβρων συμβαίνει· Ἀλέξανδρον δ' ἐν μὲν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ κροκοδείλους ἰδόντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ κυάμους Αἰγυπτίους, εὐρηκέναι δόξαι τὰς τοῦ Νείλου πηγὰς, καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι στόλον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὥς τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ μέχρι ἐκεῖσε

<sup>1</sup> ἀπεφεισμένως, Meineke, for πεπισμέως Dh, πεπεισμένους xz, πεπεισμένως other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> δίδδοσιν, F, διάθεσιν other MSS.



with this fact that the Indians do not have woolly hair, and also that their skin is not so unmercifully scorched, I mean the fact that they share in an atmosphere that is humid. And already in the womb children, by seminal impartation, become like their parents in colour; for congenital affections and other similarities are also thus explained. Further, the statement<sup>1</sup> that the sun is equidistant from all peoples is made in accordance with observation, not reason; and, in accordance with observations that are not casual, but in accordance with the observation, as I put it, that the earth is no larger than a point as compared with the sun's globe; since in accordance with the kind of observation whereby we feel differences in heat—more heat when the heat is near us and less when it is far away—the sun is not equidistant from all; and it is in this sense that the sun is spoken of<sup>2</sup> as “nearing the borders” of the Aethiopians, not in the sense Onesicritus thinks.

25. The following, too, is one of the things agreed upon by all who maintain the resemblance of India to Aegypt and Aethiopia: that all plains which are not inundated are unproductive for want of water. Nearchus says that the question formerly raised in reference to the Nile as to the source of its floodings is answered by the Indian rivers, because it is the result of the summer rains; but that when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Aegyptian beans in the Acesines, he thought he had found the sources of the Nile and thought of preparing a fleet for an expedition to Aegypt, thinking that he would sail as

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* of Onesicritus.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* by Theodectes.

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<sup>3</sup> δέδεκται, CD*higrax*.

πλευρόμενον, μικρόν δ' ὕστερον γινῶναι διότι οὐ δύναται ὁ ἥλπισε·

μέσσω<sup>1</sup> γὰρ μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ  
ῥέεθρα,  
Ὡκεανὸς μὲν πρῶτον,

εἰς ὃν ἐκδιδόασιν οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πάντες ποταμοί·  
ἔπειτα ἡ Ἀριανὴ καὶ ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος καὶ ὁ  
Ἀράβιος καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀραβία καὶ ἡ Τρωγλοδυ-  
τική.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ τῶν ὄμβρων  
τοιαῦτα λέγεται καὶ τῆς πληρώσεως τῶν ποτα-  
μῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπικλύσεως τῶν πεδίων.

26. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν  
ποταμῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν χρή-  
σιμα καὶ ὅσων ἱστορίαν παρειλήφαμεν. ἄλλως  
τε γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, φυσικοὶ τινες ὅροι καὶ μεγεθῶν  
καὶ σχημάτων τῆς χώρας ὄντες, ἐπιτηδειότητα  
πολλὴν παρέχουσι πρὸς ὅλην τὴν νῦν ὑπόθεσιν.  
C 697 ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πλεονέκτημά  
τι ἔχουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν  
ἀοίκητον εἶναι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, πλωτὴν ἅμα καὶ  
γεωργήσιμον οὖσαν, καὶ μὴτ' ἐφοδεύεσθαι δυνα-  
μένην ἄλλως, μὴτ' οἰκεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. τοὺς  
μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸν Ἰνδὸν καταφερομένους ἱστοροῦμεν  
τοὺς ἀξίους μνήμης καὶ τὰς χώρας, δι' ὧν ἡ φορὰ,  
τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἄγνοια πλείων ἢ γνῶσις.  
Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτ' ἀνακαλύψας  
κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν, ἡνίκα οἱ Δαρεῖον δολοφονήσαντες  
ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀπόστασιν,  
ἔγνω προυργιαίτατον ὃν διώκειν καὶ καταλύειν

far as there by this river, but he learned a little later that he could not accomplish what he had hoped; "for between are great rivers and dreadful streams, Oceanus first,"<sup>1</sup> into which all the Indian rivers empty; and then intervene Ariana, and the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs and Arabia itself and the Troglodyte country.

Such, then, are the accounts we have of the winds and the rains, and of the flooding of the rivers, and of the inundation of the plains.

26. But I must tell also the several details concerning the rivers, so far as they are useful for the purposes of geography and so far as I have learned their history. For the rivers in particular, being a kind of natural boundary for both the size and the shape of countries, are very convenient for the purposes of the whole of our present subject; but the Nile and the Indian rivers offer a certain advantage as compared with the rest because of the fact that apart from them the countries are uninhabitable, being at the same time navigable and tillable, and that they can neither be travelled over otherwise nor inhabited at all. Now as for the rivers worthy of mention that flow down into the Indus, I shall tell their history, as also that of the countries traversed by them; but as for the rest there is more ignorance than knowledge. For Alexander, who more than any other uncovered these regions, at the outset, when those who had treacherously slain Dareius set out to cause the revolt of Bactriana, resolved that it would be most desirable to pursue and overthrow them.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 11. 157.

<sup>1</sup> μέσση, Corais, for μέσον ποταμ, μέσση other MSS.

ἐκείνους. ἤκε μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλησίον δι' Ἀριανῶν, ἀφείς δ' αὐτὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὑπερέβη τὸν Παροπάμισον εἰς τὰ προσάρκτια μέρη καὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν· καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰ κεῖ πάντα, ὅσα ἦν ὑπὸ Πέρσαις, καὶ ἔτι πλείω, τότε ἤδη καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ὠρέχθη, λεγόντων μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς πολλῶν, οὐ σαφῶς δέ. ἀνέστρεψε δ' οὖν ὑπερθεὶς τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρη κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπιτομωτέρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν, εἴτ' ἐπέστρεψεν εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τοὺς ἐσπερίους αὐτῆς καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὸν Κώφην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Χοάσπην, ὃς εἰς τὸν Κώφην ἐμβάλλει ποταμὸν κατὰ Πλημύριον<sup>2</sup> πόλιν, ῥυεὶς παρὰ Γώρυδα,<sup>3</sup> ἄλλην πόλιν, καὶ διεξιὼν τὴν τε Βανδοβηνήν καὶ τὴν Γανδαρίτιν. ἐπυνθάνετο δ' οἰκῆσιμον εἶναι μάλιστα καὶ εὐκαρπον τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ προσάρκτιον· τὴν δὲ νότιον τὴν μὲν ἄνυδρον, τὴν δὲ ποταμόκλυστον καὶ τελέως ἔκφυρον, θηρίοις τε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις σύμμετρον. ὥρμησεν οὖν τὴν ἐπαινουμένην κατακτᾶσθαι πρότερον, ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς εὐπερατοτέρους νομίσας τῶν πηγῶν πλησίον, οὓς ἀναγκαῖον ἦν διαβαίνειν, ἐπικαρσίους ὄντας καὶ τέμνοντας ἦν ἐπῆει γῆν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἤκουσεν εἰς ἐν πλείους συνιόντας ῥεῖν, καὶ τοῦτ' αἰὲ καὶ μᾶλλον συμβαῖνον, ὅσῳ πλείον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προΐοιεν,<sup>4</sup> ὥστ' εἶναι δυσπερατοτέραν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πλοίοις ἀπορία. δεδιὼς οὖν τοῦτο διέβη τὸν Κώφην, καὶ κατεστρέφετο τὴν ὀρεινὴν, ὅση ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἔω.

<sup>1</sup> κατά, after καί. Corais ejects; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> Πληγύριον s and on margin of CF, Πληχῆριον m. xz.

<sup>3</sup> Γώρυδα i, Γώρυδι other MSS.; so Corais and later editors.

<sup>4</sup> προΐοιεν, Corais, for προΐη E, προιδεῖν other MSS.

He therefore approached India through Ariana, and, leaving India on the right, crossed over Mt. Paropamisus to the northerly parts and Bactriana; and, having subdued everything there that was subject to the Persians and still more, he then forthwith reached out for India too, since many men<sup>1</sup> had been describing it to him, though not clearly. Accordingly he returned, passing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, keeping India on the left, and then turned immediately towards India and its western boundaries and the Cophes River and the Choaspes, which latter empties into the Cophes River near a city Plemyrium, after flowing past Gorys, another city, and flowing forth through both Bandobenê and Gandaritis. He learned by inquiry that the mountainous and northerly part was the most habitable and fruitful, but that the southerly part was partly without water and partly washed by rivers and utterly hot, more suitable for wild beasts than for human beings. Accordingly, he set out to acquire first the part that was commended to him, at the same time considering that the rivers which it was necessary to cross, since they flow transversely and cut through the country which he meant to traverse, could more easily be crossed near their sources. At the same time he also heard that several rivers flowed together into one stream, and that this was always still more the case the farther forward they advanced, so that the country was more difficult to cross, especially in the event of lack of boats. Afraid of this, therefore, he crossed the Cophes and began to subdue all the mountainous country that faced towards the east.

<sup>1</sup> Historians and geographers who accompanied him.

27. Ἦν δὲ μετὰ τὸν Κώφην ὁ Ἰνδός, εἰθ' ὁ Ὑδάσπης, εἰθ' ὁ Ἀκεσίνης καὶ ὁ Ἱάρωτις, ὕστατος δ' ὁ Ὑπανίς. περαιτέρω γὰρ προσελθεῖν ἐκωλύθη, τοῦτο μὲν μαντείοις τισὶ προσέχων, τοῦτο δ' ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπηγορευκυίας ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀναγκασθείς· μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἑκαμνον, συνεχῶς ὑόμενοι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγένετο γνώριμα ἡμῖν τῶν ἐωθινῶν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς C 698 μερῶν, ὅσα ἐντὸς τοῦ Ὑπάνιος, καὶ εἴ τινα προσιστόρησαν οἱ μετ' ἐκείνον περαιτέρω τοῦ Ὑπάνιος προσελθόντες μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου καὶ Παλιβόθρων. μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Κώφην ὁ Ἰνδὸς ρεῖ· τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν ποταμῶν ἔχουσιν Ἀστακηνοὶ τε καὶ Μασσιανοὶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νυσαῖοι καὶ Ὑπάσιοι.<sup>2</sup> εἰθ' ἡ Ἀσσακαινοῦ, ὅπου Μασόγα<sup>3</sup> πόλις, τὸ βασιλεῖον τῆς χώρας. ἤδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ πάλιν ἄλλη πόλις Πευκολαΐτις, πρὸς ἣ ζεῦγμα γενηθὲν ἐπεραίωσε τὴν στρατιάν.

28. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου Τάξιλά ἐστι, πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐνομοωτάτη, καὶ ἡ περικειμένη χώρα συχνὴ καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, ἤδη συνάπτουσα καὶ τοῖς πεδίοις. ἐδέξαντό τε δὴ φιλανθρώπως τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Ταξίλης· ἔτυχόν τε πλειόνων ἢ αὐτοὶ παρέσχον, ὥστε φθονεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἶχεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς εὐεργετήσῃ πρὶν ἢ διέβῃ τὸν Ἰνδόν. φασὶ δ' εἶναί τινες τὴν χώραν ταύτην Αἰγύπτου μείζονα.

<sup>1</sup> Βασιανοὶ Dhi.

<sup>2</sup> Ὑπάσιοι, Tzschucke emends to Ἰππάσιοι, Corais to Ἀσπίσιοι.

<sup>3</sup> Μασόγα, Tzschucke and Corais emend to Μάσσαγα; the MSS. of Arrian (*Indica* 8) read Μάσσακα.

27. After the Cophes he went to the Indus, then to the Hydaspes, then to the Acesines and the Hyarotis, and last to the Hypanis; for he was prevented from advancing farther, partly through observance of certain oracles and partly because he was forced by his army, which had already been worn out by its labours, though they suffered most of all from the waters, being continually drenched with rain. Of the eastern parts of India, then, there have become known to us all those parts which lie this side the Hypanis, and also any parts beyond the Hypanis of which an account has been added by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis, as far as the Ganges and Palibothra. Now after the Cophes follows the Indus; and the region between these rivers is occupied by Astaceni, Masiani, Nysaei, and Hypasii; and then one comes to the country of Assacanus, where is a city Mesoga, the royal seat of the country; and now near the Indus again, one comes to another city, Peucolaïtis, near which a bridge that had already been built afforded a passage for the army.

28. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes lies Taxila, a city which is large and has most excellent laws; and the country that lies round it is spacious and very fertile, immediately bordering also on the plains. Both the inhabitants and their king, Taxiles, received Alexander in a kindly way; and they obtained from Alexander more gifts than they themselves presented, so that the Macedonians were envious and said that Alexander did not have anyone, as it seemed, on whom to bestow his benefactions until he crossed the Indus. Some say that this country is larger than Aegypt. Above this country

ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἢ τοῦ Ἀβισάρου χώρα, παρ' ᾧ δύο δράκοντας ἀπήγγελλον οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις τρέφεσθαι, τὸν μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα πηχῶν, τὸν δὲ τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν, ὡς εἴρηκεν Ὀνησίκριτος· ὃν οὐκ Ἀλεξάνδρου μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παραδόξων ἀρχικυβερνήτην προσείποι τις ἄν. πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἀντὶ τάληθοῦς ἀπεδέχοντο μᾶλλον, ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ τοὺς τοσοῦτους ἐκεῖνος τῇ τερατολογίᾳ. λέγει<sup>1</sup> δ' οὖν τινα καὶ πιθανὰ καὶ μνήμης ἄξια, ὥστε καὶ ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ παρελθεῖν αὐτά. περὶ δ' οὖν τῶν δρακόντων καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Ἡμωδοῖς ὄρεσι θηρεύουσι καὶ τρέφουσιν ἐν σπηλαίοις.

29. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ἢ τε τοῦ Πῶρου ἐστί, πολλὴ καὶ ἀγαθὴ, σχεδόν τι καὶ τριακοσίων πόλεων, καὶ ἢ πρὸς τοῖς Ἡμωδοῖς ὄρεσιν ὕλη, ἐξ ἧς Ἀλέξανδρος κατήγαγε τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ κύψας ἐλάτην τε πολλὴν καὶ πεύκην καὶ κέδρον καὶ ἄλλα παντοῖα στελέχη ναυπηγήσιμα, ἐξ ὧν στόλον κατεσκευάσατο ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἐκτισμέναις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλεσιν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπου τὸν Πῶρον ἐνίκα διαβάς· ὧν τὴν μὲν Βουκεφαλίαν ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεσόντος ἵππου κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πῶρον (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Βουκεφάλας ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάτους τοῦ μετώπου· πολεμιστὴς δ' ἦν ἀγαθός, C 699 καὶ αἰεὶ τούτῳ ἐκέχρητο κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας), τὴν δὲ Νίκαιαν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐκάλεσεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ λεχθείσῃ ὕλῃ καὶ τὸ τῶν κερκοπιθήκων διηγοῦν-

<sup>1</sup> λέγει, Corais, for λέγειν; so the later editors.



in the mountains lies the country of Abisarus, who, according to the ambassadors that came from him, kept two serpents, one eighty cubits in length and another one hundred and forty, according to Onesicritus, who cannot so properly be called arch-pilot of Alexander as of things that are incredible; for though all the followers of Alexander preferred to accept the marvellous rather than the true, Onesicritus seems to surpass all those followers of his in the telling of prodigies. However, he tells some things that are both plausible and worthy of mention, and therefore they are not passed by in silence even by one who disbelieves them. At any rate, others too speak of the serpents, saying that they are caught in the Emodi mountains and kept in caves.

29. Between the Hydaspes and the Acesines is, first, the country of Porus, extensive and fertile, containing about three hundred cities; and, secondly, the forest near the Emodi mountains, from which Alexander cut, and brought down on the Hydaspes, a large quantity of fir, pine, cedar, and other logs of all kinds fit for shipbuilding, from which he built a fleet on the Hydaspes near the cities founded by him on either side of the river where he crossed and conquered Porus. Of these cities, he named one Bucephalia, after Bucephalus, the horse which fell during the battle with Porus (the horse was called Bucephalus<sup>1</sup> from the width of his forehead; he was an excellent war-horse and was always used by Alexander in his fights); and he called the other Nicaea, after his victory. In the forest above-mentioned both the number and the size of the long-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Oxhead.

ται πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλον καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ὁμοίως, ὥστε τοὺς Μακεδόνας ποτέ, ἰδόντας ἔν τισιν ἀκρολοφίαις ψιλαῖς ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει κατὰ μέτωπον πολλούς (καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρωπονούστατον εἶναι τὸ ζῶον, οὐχ ἡττον τῶν ἐλεφάντων), στρατοπέδου λαβεῖν φαντασίαν καὶ ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὡς πολεμίους, μαθόντας δὲ παρὰ Ταξίλου, συνόντος τότε τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὴν ἀλήθειαν παύσασθαι. ἡ δὲ θήρα τοῦ ζώου διττὴ· μιμητικὸν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα ἀναφευκτικόν· οἱ οὖν θηρεύοντες, ἐπὰν ἴδωσιν ἐπὶ δένδρων ἰδρυμένοι, ἐν ὧσιν θέντες τρυβλίον ὕδωρ ἔχον, τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐναλείφουσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· εἴτ', ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰξοῦ τρυβλίον θέντες, ἀπίαςιν καὶ λοχῶσι πόρρωθεν· ἐπὰν δὲ καταπηδῇσαν τὸ θηρίον ἐγχρίσεται τοῦ ἰξοῦ, καταμύσαντος δ' ἀποληφθῇ<sup>1</sup> τὰ βλέφαρα, ἐπιόντες ζωγοῦσιν. εἰς μὲν οὖν<sup>2</sup> τρόπος οὗτος, ἄλλος δέ· ὑποδυσάμενοι θυλάκους, ὡς ἀναξυρίδας, ἀπίαςιν, ἄλλους καταλιπόντες δασεῖς, τὰ ἐντὸς κεχρισμένους ἰξῶ· ἐνδύντας δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς ῥηδίως αἰροῦσι.

30. Καὶ τὴν Κάθαιαν<sup>3</sup> δέ τινες καὶ<sup>4</sup> τὴν Σωπείθους, τῶν νομαρχῶν τινος, κατὰ τήνδε τὴν μεσοποταμίαν τιθέασιν· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέραν καὶ τοῦ Ἐλαρῆδος, ὁμορον τῇ Πύρου τοῦ ἐτέρου, ὃς ἦν ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλόντος· καλοῦσι δὲ Γανδαρίδα τὴν ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἀποληφθῇ, CDhixw read ἀπολειφθῇ (corrected to ἀπολήφθη in Dh); ἀλειφθῇ mo, Casaubon and Tzschucke; ἐπαλειφθῇ, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> οὖν omitted by all MSS. except Dh.

<sup>3</sup> Κάθαιαν, Tzschucke, for Καθέαν; so the later editors.

<sup>4</sup> καί, Corais inserts (citing Diodorus 17. 91).

tailed apes<sup>1</sup> are alike described as so extraordinary that once the Macedonians, seeing many of these standing as in front-line array on some bare hills (for this animal is very human-like in mentality, no less so than the elephant), got the impression that they were an army of men; and they actually set out to attack them as human enemies, but on learning the truth from Taxiles, who was then with the king, desisted. The capture of the animal is effected in two ways. It is an imitative animal and takes to flight up in the trees. Now the hunters, when they see an ape seated on a tree, place in sight a bowl containing water and rub their own eyes with it; and then they put down a bowl of bird-lime instead of the water, go away, and lie in wait at a distance; and when the animal leaps down and besmears itself with the bird-lime, and when, upon winking, its eyelids are shut together, the hunters approach and take it alive. Now this is one way, but there is another. They put on baggy breeches like trousers and then go away, leaving behind them others that are shaggy and smeared inside with bird-lime; and when the animals put these on, they are easily captured.

30. Some put both Cathaea and the country of Sopeithes, one of the provincial chiefs, between these two rivers,<sup>2</sup> but others on the far side of the Acesines and the Hyarotis, as bordering on the country of the second Porus, who was a cousin<sup>3</sup> of the Porus captured by Alexander. The country that was subject

<sup>1</sup> The species *cercopithecus* (for a fuller description see 15. 1. 37).

<sup>2</sup> The Hydaspes and Acesines.

<sup>3</sup> Or "nephew."

τούτῳ χώραν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Καθαίᾳ<sup>1</sup> καινότατον  
 ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους, ὅτι τιμᾶται  
 διαφερόντως, ὥς ἵππων καὶ κυνῶν βασιλέα τε  
 γὰρ τὸν κάλλιστον αἰρεῖσθαι φησιν Ὀνησίκριτος,  
 γενόμενόν τε παιδίον μετὰ δίμνηνον κρίνεσθαι  
 δημοσίᾳ, πότερον ἔχοι τὴν ἔννομον μορφήν καὶ  
 τοῦ ζῆν ἀξίαν, ἢ οὐ· κριθέντα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπο-  
 δειχθέντος ἄρχοντος ζῆν ἢ θανατοῦσθαι· βάπτεσ-  
 θαί τε πολλοῖς εὐαιθεστάτοις χρώμασι τοὺς  
 πώγωνας αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν, καλλωπιζομένους·  
 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλους<sup>2</sup> ποιεῖν ἐπιμελῶς συχνοὺς  
 τῶν Ἰνδῶν (καὶ γὰρ δὴ φέρειν τὴν χώραν χροᾶς  
 θαυμαστάς) καὶ θριξὶ καὶ ἐσθήσι· τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώ-  
 πους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν εὐτελεῖς εἶναι, φιλοκόσμους δέ.  
 ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Καθαίων<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοῦτο ἱστορεῖται, τὸ  
 αἰρεῖσθαι νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ  
 συγκατακαίεσθαι τεθνεῶσι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς  
 γυναῖκας κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, ὅτι ἐρώσαί ποτε  
 C 700 τῶν νέων ἀφίσταντο<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ φαρμακεύοιεν  
 αὐτούς· νόμον οὖν θέσθαι τοῦτον, ὥς παυσομένης  
 τῆς φαρμακείας. οὐ πιθανῶς μὲν οὖν ὁ νόμος,  
 οὐδ' ἡ αἰτία λέγεται. φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Σωπείθους  
 χώρᾳ ὀρυκτῶν ἀλῶν ὄρος εἶναι, ἀρκεῖν δυνάμενον  
 ὅλην τῇ Ἰνδικῇ· καὶ χρυσεῖα δὲ καὶ ἀργυρεῖα οὐ  
 πολὺν ἄπωθεν ἐν ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν ἱστορεῖται καλά,  
 ὥς ἐδήλωσε Γόργος ὁ μεταλλευτής. οἱ δ' Ἰνδοὶ  
 μεταλλείας καὶ χωνείας ἀπείρως ἔχοντες, οὐδ' ὦν

<sup>1</sup> Καθαία, Tzschucke and later editors, for Καθέα.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλους, *his*, ἄλλως other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Καθαίων, Tzschucke and later editors, for Καθέων.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφίσταντο, Corais and later editors, for ἀφίσταντο.

to him is called Gandaris. As for Cathaea, a most novel regard for beauty there is reported; I mean that it is prized in an exceptional manner, as, for example, for the beauty of its horses and dogs; and, in fact, Onesicritus says that they choose the handsomest person as king, and that a child is judged in public after it is two months old as to whether it has the beauty of form required by law and is worthy to live or not; and that when it is judged by the appointed magistrate it is allowed to live or is put to death; and that the men dye their beards with many most florid colours for the sole reason that they wish to beautify themselves; and that this practice is carefully followed by numerous other Indian peoples also (for the country produces marvellous colours, he says), who dye both their hair and their garments; and that the people, though shabby in every other way, are fond of adornment. The following too is reported as a custom peculiar to the Cathaeans: the groom and bride choose one another themselves, and wives are burned up with their deceased husbands for a reason of this kind—that they sometimes fell in love with young men and deserted their husbands or poisoned them; and therefore the Cathaeans established this as a law, thinking that they would put a stop to the poisoning. However, the law is not stated in a plausible manner, nor the cause of it either. It is said that in the country of Sopeithes there is a mountain of mineral salt sufficient for the whole of India. And gold and silver mines are reported in other mountains not far away, excellent mines, as has been plainly shown by Gorgus the mining expert. But since the Indians are inexperienced in mining and

εὐποροῦσιν ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον μεταχειρίζονται τὸ πρᾶγμα.

31. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σωπείθους καὶ τὰς τῶν κυνῶν ἀρετὰς διηγοῦνται θαυμαστάς· λαβεῖν γοῦν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ Σωπείθους κύνας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν· διαπείρας δὲ χάριν λέοντι προσαφέντας<sup>1</sup> δύο, κρατουμένων<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν, δύο ἄλλους ἐπαφεῖναι· τότε δ' ἤδη καθεστῶτων εἰς ἀντίπαλα, τὸν μὲν Σωπείθην κελεῦσαι τῶν κυνῶν ἓνα ἀποσπᾶν τοῦ σκέλους τινὰ λαβόμενον, εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπάκουῃ, ἀποτεμεῖν· τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐ συγχωρεῖν ἀποτεμεῖν, φειδόμενον τοῦ κυνός, εἰπόντος δ', ὅτι Τέτταρας ἀντιδώσω σοι, συγχωρῆσαι, καὶ τὸν κύνα περιδεῖν ἀποτμηθέντα τὸ σκέλος βραδείᾳ τομῇ, πρὶν ἀνεῖναι τὸ δῆγμα.

32. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὁδὸς τὸ πλεόν ἦν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἡ δ' ἐνθένδε πρὸς ἑὼ μάλλον μέχρι τοῦ Ὑπάνιος, ἅπαντα δὲ τῆς ὑπωρείας μάλλον ἢ τῶν πεδίων ἐχομένη. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπάνιος ἀναστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον, ἡρτικρότει<sup>3</sup> τὸν στόλον, εἴτ' ἔπλει τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, πάντες δ' οἱ λεχθέντες ποταμοὶ συμβάλλουσιν εἰς ἓνα τὸν Ἰνδόν· ὕστατος δ' ὁ Ὑπανίς· πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας συρρεῖν φασί, τοὺς γε ἀξιολόγους· πληρωθεὶς δ' ἐκ πάντων ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίους, ὡς οἱ μὴ μετριάζοντές φασιν, εὐρύνεσθαι κατὰ τινας τόπους,

<sup>1</sup> προσαφέντος CFWx, προσαφέντα moz.

<sup>2</sup> δ', before αὐτῶν, Corais and later editors omit.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ἡρτικρότει, F reads ἡρτικροτι (sic), C ἡρτικρότι

smelting, they also do not know what their resources are, and handle the business in a rather simple manner.

31. Writers narrate also the excellent qualities of the dogs in the country of Sopeithes. They say, at any rate, that Alexander received one hundred and fifty dogs from Sopeithes; and that, to prove them, two were let loose to attack a lion, and, when they were being overpowered, two others were let loose upon him, and that then, the match having now become equal, Sopeithes bade someone to take one of the dogs by the leg and pull him away, and if the dog did not yield to cut off his leg; and that Alexander would not consent to cutting off the dog's leg at first, wishing to spare the dog, but consented when Sopeithes said that he would give him four instead; and that the dog suffered the cutting off of his leg by slow amputation before he let go his grip.

32. Now the march to the Hydaspes was for the most part towards the south, but from there to the Hypanis it was more towards the east, and as a whole it kept to the foothills more than to the plains. At all events, Alexander, when he returned from the Hypanis to the Hydaspes and the naval station, proceeded to make ready his fleet and then to set sail on the Hydaspes. All the above-mentioned rivers, last of all the Hypanis, unite in one river, the Indus; and it is said that the Indus is joined by fifteen noteworthy rivers all told, and that after being filled so full by all that it is widened in some places, according to writers who are immoderate, even to the extent of one hundred stadia, but, according to the more

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(corrected to *συνεκρότει*), *Δὲ ἡρτικρότη, ἡ ἀρτικρότη*, and other MSS. and editors before Kramer *συνεκρότει*.

ὥς δ' οἱ μετριώτεροι, πεντήκοντα τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ἑπτὰ (καὶ πολλὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις εἰσὶ<sup>1</sup> περίξ<sup>2</sup>), ἔπειτα δυσὶ στόμασιν εἰς τὴν νοτίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλατταν καὶ τὴν Παταληνὴν προσαγορευομένην ποιεῖ νῆσον. ταύτην δ' ἔσχε τὴν διάνοιαν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀφείς τὰ πρὸς ἑὼ μέρη πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ κωλυθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Ὑπανιν, ἔπειτα καὶ ψευδῇ καταμαθὼν τῇ πείρᾳ τὸν προκατέχοντα λόγον, ὥς ἔκπυρα εἶη καὶ θηρίοις μᾶλλον οἰκήσιμα τὰ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἢ ἀνθρωπείῳ γένει· διόπερ ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἀφείς ἐκείνα, ὥστε καὶ ἐγνώσθη ταῦτα ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπὶ πλέον.

C 701 33. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ὑπάνιος καὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου λέγεται ἐννέα ἔχειν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ εἰς πεντακισχιλίας οὐκ ἐλάττους Κῶ τῆς Μεροπίδος· δοκεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν εἰρῆσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, εἴρηται σχεδόν τι, ὑφ' ὧν οἰκεῖται τῶν ἀξίων μνήμης· κάτω δ' ἐξῆς εἰσιν οἳ τε Σίβαι λεγόμενοι, περὶ ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, καὶ Μαλλοὶ καὶ Συδράκαι,<sup>3</sup> μεγάλα ἔθνη. καὶ Μαλλοὶ μὲν, παρ' οἷς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τρωθεῖς ἐν ἀλώσει πολίχνης τινός, Συδράκαι<sup>4</sup> δέ, οὓς τοῦ Διονύσου συγγενεῖς ἔφαμεν μεμνηθεῖσθαι. πρὸς αὐτῇ δ' ἤδη τῇ Παταληνῇ τὴν τε τοῦ Μουσικανοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Σάβου, οὗ

<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶ DF, εἶναι other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πολλὰ . . . περίξ, Meineke ejects, following conj. of Kramer.

<sup>3</sup> Σιδράκαι Dhī, Ὁξυδράκαι E.

<sup>4</sup> Συδράκαι F (corrected in margin to Ὁξυδράκαι), Ὁξυδράκαι other MSS.



moderate, fifty at the most and seven at the least (and there are many tribes and cities all about it),<sup>1</sup> it then empties into the southern sea by two mouths and forms the island called Patalenê. Alexander conceived this purpose<sup>2</sup> after dismissing from his mind the parts towards the east; first, because he had been prevented from crossing the Hypanis, and, secondly, because he had learned by experience the falsity of the report which had preoccupied his mind, that the parts in the plains were burning hot and more habitable for wild beasts than for a human race;<sup>3</sup> and therefore he set out for these parts, dismissing those others, so that the former became better known than those others.

33. Now the country between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes is said to contain nine tribes, and also cities to the number of five thousand—cities no smaller than Cos Meropis,<sup>4</sup> though the number stated seems to be excessive. And as for the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes, I have stated approximately the peoples worthy of mention by which it is inhabited;<sup>5</sup> and below them, next in order, are the people called Sibae, whom I have mentioned before,<sup>6</sup> and the Malli and the Sydracae, large tribes. It was in the country of the Malli that Alexander was in peril of death, being wounded in the capture of some small city; and as for the Sydracae, I have already spoken of them as mythically akin to Dionysus.<sup>7</sup> Near Patalenê, they say, one comes at once to the country of Musicanus, and to that of Sabus, where is Sindo-

<sup>1</sup> The words in parenthesis are probably a gloss.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* to turn back from the Hypanis. <sup>3</sup> See § 26.

<sup>4</sup> See 14. 2. 19.

<sup>5</sup> § 28 above.

<sup>6</sup> § 8 above.

<sup>7</sup> § 8 above.

γὰ Σινδόμανα,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔτι τὴν Πορτικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων, ὧν ἐκράτησεν ἀπάντων Ἀλέξανδρος, τὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ παροικούντων ποταμίαν, ὑστάτης δὲ τῆς Παταληνῆς, ἣν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποιεῖ, σχισθεὶς εἰς δύο προχοάς. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν οὖν εἰς χιλίους σταδίους διέχειν ἀλλήλων φησὶν αὐτάς, Νέαρχος δ' ὀκτακοσίους προστίθησιν, Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν ἐκίστην τῆς ἀπολαμβανομένης νήσου τριγώνου τὸ σχῆμα δισχιλίων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ πλάτος, καθ' ὃ σχίζεται εἰς τὰ στόματα, ὅσον διακοσίων.<sup>2</sup> καλεῖ δὲ τὴν νήσον Δέλτα, καὶ φησιν ἴσην εἶναι τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Δέλτα, οὐκ ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγων. τὸ γὰρ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Δέλτα χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων λέγεται σταδίων ἔχειν τὴν βάσιν, τὰς δὲ πλευρὰς ἐκατέραν ἐλάττω τῆς βάσεως. ἐν δὲ τῇ Παταληνῇ πόλις ἐστὶν ἀξιόλογος τὰ Πάταλα, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται.

34. Φησὶ δ' Ὀνησίκριτος τὴν πλείστην παραλίαν τὴν ταύτῃ πολὺ τὸ τεναγῶδες ἔχειν, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰ στόματα τῶν ποταμῶν, διὰ τε τὴν χοῦν καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας καὶ τὸ μὴ πνεῖν ἀπογαίους,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν πελαγίων ἀνέμων κατέχεσθαι τούτους τοὺς τόπους τὸ πλεόν. λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Μουσικανοῦ χώρας ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐγκωμιάζων αὐτήν, ὧν τινα κοινὰ καὶ ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς ιστόρηται, ὥς τὸ μακρόβιον, ὥστε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκατὸν προσλαμβάνειν (καὶ

<sup>1</sup> σαβούτα σινδοναλίαν μοz ; σαβούτα σινδολίαν siv ; σάβου τὰ σινδονάλια CDFh, Tzschucke and Corais ; Σάβου, τὰ Σινδόμανα Meineke, and so Kramer, who, however, inserts οὐ after Σάβου.

<sup>2</sup> For διακοσίων Groskurd conj. εἴκοσι, Kramer (citing Arrian 5. 20) ἐκατόν.

mana, and also to the country of Porticanus and others, who, one and all, were conquered by Alexander, these peoples dwelling along the river-lands of the Indus; but last of all to Patalenê, a country formed by the Indus, which branches into two mouths. Now Aristobulus says that these mouths are one thousand stadia distant from one another, but Nearchus adds eight hundred; and Onesicritus reckons each of the two sides of the included island, which is triangular in shape, at two thousand, and the width of the river, where it branches into the mouths, at about two hundred; and he calls the island Delta, and says that it is equal in size to the Aegyptian Delta, a statement which is not true. For it is said that the Aegyptian Delta has a base of one thousand three hundred stadia, though each of the two sides is shorter than the base. In Patalenê there is a noteworthy city, Patala, after which the island is named.

34. Onesicritus says that most of the seaboard in this part of the world abounds in shoals, particularly at the mouths of the rivers, on account of the silt and the overflows and also of the fact that no breezes blow from the land, and that this region is subject for the most part to winds that blow from the high sea. He describes also the country of Musicanus, lauding it rather at length for things of which some are reported as common also to other Indians, as, for example, their length of life, thirty years beyond one hundred (and indeed some say

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<sup>3</sup> ἀπογαίους, Casaubon, for ἀπὸ γέας CFmsz, ἀπὸ γαίας Di, ὑπογαίας i, ἀπογαίας sz.

γὰρ τοὺς Σήρας ἔτι τούτων μακροβιωτέρους τινές  
 φασι) καὶ τὸ λιτόβιον καὶ τὸ ὑγιεινόν, καίπερ  
 τῆς χώρας ἀφθονίαν ἀπάντων ἐχούσης. ἴδιον δὲ  
 τὸ συσσίτιά τινα Λακωνικὰ αὐτοῖς εἶναι δημοσία  
 σιτουμένων, ὅψα δ' ἐκ θήρας ἐχόντων· καὶ τὸ  
 χρυσῶ μὴ χρῆσθαι, μηδ' ἀργύρῳ, μετάλλων  
 ὄντων· καὶ τὸ ἀντὶ δούλων τοῖς ἐν ἀκμῇ χρῆσθαι  
 νέοις, ὡς Κρήτες μὲν τοῖς Ἀφαμιώταις, Λάκωνες  
 δὲ τοῖς Εἰλώσι· μὴ ἀκριβοῦν δὲ τὰς ἐπιστήμας  
 πλὴν ἰατρικῆς· ἐπὶ τινων γὰρ κακουργίαν εἶναι  
 C 702 τὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἄσκησιν, οἷον ἐπὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων· δίκην δὲ μὴ εἶναι πλὴν φόνου  
 καὶ ὕβρεως· οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν  
 ταῦτα, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 ἐκάστω, ὥστε ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖ, ἐάν τις παραβῇ  
 τὴν πίστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέχειν, ὅτῳ πιστευτέον,  
 καὶ μὴ δικῶν πληροῦν τὴν πόλιν· ταῦτα μὲν οἱ  
 μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες λέγουσιν.

35. Ἐκδέδοται δέ τις καὶ Κρατεροῦ πρὸς τὴν  
 μητέρα Ἀριστοπάτραν ἐπιστολή, πολλά τε ἄλλα  
 παράδοξα φράζουσα καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσα οὐδενί,  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μέχρι τοῦ Γάγγου προελθεῖν τὸν  
 Ἀλέξανδρον· αὐτὸς τέ φησιν ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν  
 καὶ κήτη τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ μεγέθος καὶ πλάτους  
 καὶ βάθους πόρρω πίστεως μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγγύς· ὅτι  
 μὲν γὰρ μέγιστος τῶν μνημονευομένων κατὰ τὰς  
 τρεῖς ἡπείρους, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰνδός, τρίτος  
 δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ὁ Ἰστρος καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἱκανῶς

<sup>1</sup> τῆς πολεμικῆς EF, τοῖς πολεμικοῖς other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> See 10. 4. 16, 20.

that the Seres live still longer than this), and their healthfulness, and simple diet, even though their country has an abundance of everything. Peculiar to them is the fact that they have a kind of Laconian common mess,<sup>1</sup> where they eat in public and use as food the meat of animals taken in the chase; and that they do not use gold or silver, although they have mines; and that instead of slaves they use young men in the vigour of life, as the Cretans use the Aphamiotae and the Laconians the Helots;<sup>2</sup> and that they make no accurate study of the sciences except that of medicine, for they regard too much training in some of them as wickedness; for example, military science and the like; and that they have no process at law except for murder and outrage, for it is not in one's power to avoid suffering these, whereas the content of contracts is in the power of each man himself, so that he is required to endure it if anyone breaks faith with him, and also to consider carefully who should be trusted and not to fill the city with lawsuits. This is the account of those who made the expedition with Alexander.

35. But there has also been published a letter of Craterus to his mother Aristopatra, which alleges many other strange things and agrees with no one else, particularly in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges. And he says that he himself saw the river and monsters on its banks, and a magnitude both of width and of depth which is remote from credibility rather than near it. Indeed, it is sufficiently agreed that the Ganges is the largest of known rivers on the three continents, and after it the Indus, and third and fourth the Ister and the

<sup>1</sup> See 8. 5. 4 and 12. 3. 4.

συμφωνεῖται· τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα δ' ἄλλοι ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν, οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα σταδίων τοῦλάχιστον πλάτος, οἱ δὲ καὶ τριῶν, Μεγασθένης δέ, ὅταν ἦ μέτριος καὶ εἰς ἑκατὸν εὐρύνεσθαι, βάθος δὲ εἴκοσι ὀργυῶν τοῦλάχιστον.

36. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ποταμοῦ<sup>1</sup> τὰ Παλίβοθρα ἰδρῦσθαι, σταδίων ὀγδοῖκοντα τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐν παραλληλογράμμῳ σχήματι, ξύλινον περίβολον ἔχουσιν κατατετρημένον, ὥστε διὰ τῶν ὀπῶν τοξεύειν· προκεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάφρον φυλακῆς τε χάριν καὶ ὑποδοχῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπορροϊῶν· τὸ δ' ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ πόλις αὕτη, καλεῖσθαι Πρασίους, διαφορώτατον τῶν πάντων· τὸν δὲ βασιλεύοντα ἐπώνυμον δεῖν<sup>2</sup> τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, Παλίβοθρον καλούμενον πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ τῷ ἐκ γενετῆς ὀνόματι, καθάπερ τὸν Σανδρόκοπτον, πρὸς ὃν ἦκεν ὁ Μεγασθένης πεμφθείς. τοιοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις· Ἀρσάκαι γὰρ καλοῦνται πάντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὀρώδης,<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ Φραάτης, ὁ δ' ἄλλο τι.

37. Ἀρίστη δ' ὁμολογεῖται πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ Ὑπάνιος πέραν· οὐκ ἀκριβοῦνται δέ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν λέγεται πάντ' ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον

<sup>1</sup> After ποταμοῦ Meineke inserts Ἐραννοβόα, following Arrian, *Indica* 10.

<sup>2</sup> δεῖν F, δεῖ other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡρώδης *moz.*

<sup>1</sup> More than twelve miles.

<sup>2</sup> About 120 feet. "According to the latest calculations, the length of the main stream of the Ganges is 1540 m., or with its longest affluent, 1680; breadth at true entrance into

Nile; but the several details concerning it are stated differently by different writers, some putting its minimum breadth at thirty stadia and others even at three, whereas Megasthenes says that when its breadth is medium it widens even to one hundred stadia<sup>1</sup> and that its least depth is twenty fathoms.<sup>2</sup>

36. It is said that Palibothra lies at the confluence of the Ganges and the other river,<sup>3</sup> a city eighty stadia in length and fifteen in breadth, in the shape of a parallelogram, and surrounded by a wooden wall that is perforated so that arrows can be shot through the holes; and that in front of the wall lies a trench used both for defence and as a receptacle of the sewage that flows from the city; and that the tribe of people amongst whom this city is situated is called the Prasii and is far superior to all the rest; and that the reigning king must be surnamed after the city, being called Palibothrus in addition to his own family name, as, for example, King Sandrocottus to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy.<sup>4</sup> Such is also the custom among the Parthians; for all are called Arsaces, although personally one king is called Orodes, another Phraates, and another something else.

37. Writers are agreed that the country as a whole on the far side of the Hypanis is best; but they do not describe it accurately, and because of their ignorance and of its remoteness magnify all things

the sea, 20 m.; breadth of channel in dry season,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  m.; depth in dry season, 30 ft." (Holdich, in *Encyc. Britannica*.)

<sup>3</sup> The Erannoboas (now the Sone), according to Groskurd (who cites Arrian, *Indica* 10) and the later editors (see critical note).

<sup>4</sup> See 2. 1. 9.

ἢ τὸ τερατωδέστερον· οἷα τὰ τῶν χρυσωρύχων  
 μυρμήκων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἰδιομόρφων καὶ δυνάμεσί τισιν ἐξηλλαγμένων·  
 ὥς τοὺς Σήρας μακροβίους φασί, πέρα καὶ  
 διακοσίων ἐτῶν παρατείνοντας. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ  
 ἀριστοκρατικὴν τινα σύνταξιν πολιτείας αὐτόθι  
 ἐκ πεντακισχιλίων βουλευτῶν συνεστῶσαν, ὧν  
 C 703 ἕκαστον παρέχεσθαι τῷ κοινῷ ἐλέφαντα. καὶ  
 τίγρεις δ' ἐν τοῖς Πρασίοις φησὶν ὁ Μεγασθένης  
 μεγίστους γίνεσθαι, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ διπλασίους  
 λεόντων, δυνατοὺς δέ, ὥστε τῶν ἡμέρων τινά,  
 ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ τεττάρων, τῷ ὀπισθίῳ σκέλει δραξά-  
 μενον ἡμιόνου, βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐλκύσαι πρὸς  
 ἑαυτόν· κερκοπιθήκους δὲ μείζους τῶν μεγίστων  
 κυνῶν, λευκοὺς πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου· τοῦτο δ'  
 εἶναι μέλαν (παρ' ἄλλοις δ' ἀνάπαλιν), τὰς δὲ  
 κέρκους μείζους δυεῖν πήχεων, ἡμερωτάτους δὲ  
 καὶ οὐ κακοήθεις περὶ ἐπιθέσεις καὶ κλοπὰς·  
 λίθους δ' ὀρύττεσθαι λιβανόχρους, γλυκυτέρους  
 σύκων ἢ μέλιτος· ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ διπήχεις ὄφεις  
 ὑμενοπτέρους, ὥσπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες, καὶ τούτους  
 δὲ νύκτωρ πέτεσθαι, σταλαγμοὺς ἀφιέντας οὖρων,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἰδρώτων, διασήποντας τὸν χρώτα τοῦ μὴ  
 φυλαξαμένου· καὶ σκορπίους εἶναι πτηνοὺς, ὑπερ-  
 βύλλοντας μεγέθεσι· φύεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἔβενον·  
 εἶναι δὲ καὶ κύνας ἀλκίμους, οὐ πρότερον μεθιέν-  
 τας τὸ διηχθέν, πρὶν εἰς τοὺς ῥώθωνας ὕδωρ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> See 2. 1. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently an imaginary creature (sometimes called "ant-lion") with the fore-parts of a lion and the hind-parts of an ant. Herodotus (3. 102) describes it as "smaller than a dog



or make them more marvellous.<sup>1</sup> For example, the stories of the ants that mine gold<sup>2</sup> and of other creatures, both beasts and human beings, which are of peculiar form and in respect to certain natural powers have undergone complete changes, as, for example, the Seres, who, they say, are long-lived, and prolong their lives even beyond two hundred years. They tell also of a kind of aristocratic order of government that was composed outright of five thousand counsellors, each of whom furnishes the new commonwealth with an elephant. Megasthenes says that the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, even nearly twice as large as lions, and so powerful that a tame one, though being led by four men, seized<sup>3</sup> a mule by the hind leg and by force drew the mule to itself; and that the long-tailed apes are larger than the largest dogs, are white except their faces, which are black (the contrary is the case elsewhere), that their tails are more than two cubits long, and that they are very tame and not malicious as regards attacks and thefts; and that stones are dug up of the colour of frankincense and sweeter than figs or honey; and that in other places there are reptiles two cubits long with membranous wings like bats, and that they too fly by night, discharging drops of urine, or also of sweat, which putrefy the skin of anyone who is not on his guard; and that there are winged scorpions of surpassing size; and that ebony is also produced; and that there are also brave dogs, which do not let go the object bitten till water is poured down into their nostrils; but larger than a fox." Strabo elsewhere (16. 4. 15) refers to "lions called ants."

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word suggests seizing *with the claws*, not *with the teeth*.

χυθῆναι· ἐνίους δ' ὑπὸ προθυμίας ἐν τῷ δήγματι διαστρέφεσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκπίπτειν· κατασχεθῆναι δὲ καὶ λέοντα ὑπὸ κυνὸς καὶ ταῦρον, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, κρατούμενον τοῦ ῥύγχους, πρότερον ἢ ἀφεθῆναι.

38. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀρεινῇ Σίλαν<sup>1</sup> ποταμὸν εἶναι, ᾧ μὴδὲν ἐπιπλεῖ· Δημόκριτον μὲν οὖν ἀπιστεῖν, ἅτε πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας πεπλανημένον· καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἀπιστεῖ, καίπερ<sup>2</sup> ἀέρων ὄντων λεπτῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐποχείται πτηνόν· ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἀτμῶν ἐπισπαστικοί τινές εἰσι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἶον ῥοφητικοί τοῦ ὑπερπετοῦς, ὥς τὸ ἤλεκτρον τοῦ ἀχύρου καὶ ἡ σιδηρίτις τοῦ σιδήρου· τάχα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὕδατος τοιαῦταί τινες εἶεν ἂν δυνάμεις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φυσιολογίας ἔχεταιί τινος καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὀχουμένων πραγματείας, ὥστε ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐπισκεπτέον· νυνὶ δ' ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα προσληπτέον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς γεωγραφίας ἐγγυτέρω.

39. Φησὶ δὴ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλήθος εἰς ἐπτὰ μέρη διηρῆσθαι, καὶ πρῶτους μὲν τοὺς φιλοσόφους εἶναι κατὰ τιμὴν, ἐλαχίστους δὲ κατ' ἀριθμόν· χρήσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς, ἰδία μὲν ἐκάστῳ τοὺς θύοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐναγίζοντας, κοινῇ δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην λεγομένην σύνοδον, καθ' ἣν τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἅπαντες οἱ φιλόσοφοι τῷ βασιλεῖ συνελθόντες ἐπὶ θύρας, ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> Σίλαν Epitome, Σιλίαν other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> DFw omit καὶ before ἀέρων.

<sup>1</sup> This clause is obviously ironical, unless, as others suggest, the text is corrupt.

and that some bite so vehemently that their eyes become distorted and sometimes actually fall out; and that even a lion was held fast by a dog, and also a bull, and that the bull was actually killed, being overpowered through the dog's hold on his nose before he could be released.

38. Megasthenes goes on to say that in the mountainous country there is a River Silas on which nothing floats; that Democritus, however, disbelieves this, inasmuch as he had wandered over much of Asia.<sup>1</sup> But Aristotle also disbelieves it, although there are atmospheres so thin that no winged creature can fly in them. Besides, certain rising vapours tend to attract to themselves and "gulp down," as it were, whatever flies over them, as amber does with chaff and the magnet with iron; and perhaps there might also be natural powers of this kind in water. Now these things border, in a way, on natural philosophy and on the science of floating bodies, and therefore should be investigated there; but in this treatise I must add still the following, and whatever else is closer to the province of geography.

39. He says, then, that the population of India is divided into seven castes:<sup>2</sup> the one first in honour, but the fewest in number, consists of the philosophers; and these philosophers are used, each individually, by people making sacrifice to the gods or making offerings to the dead, but jointly by the kings at the Great Synod, as it is called, at which, at the beginning of the new year, the philosophers, one and all, come together at the gates of the king; and whatever each man has drawn up in writing or

<sup>2</sup> On the caste system in India see "Caste" in *Encyc. Britannica*.

ἕκαστος συντάξῃ τῶν χρησίμων ἢ τηρήσῃ πρὸς  
 εὐετηρίαν καρπῶν τε καὶ ζώων καὶ περὶ πολι-  
 τείας,<sup>1</sup> προφέρει<sup>2</sup> τοῦτ' εἰς τὸ μέσον· ὃς δ' ἂν  
 τρὶς ἐψευσμένος ἀλφῶ, νόμος ἐστὶ σιγαῶν διὰ βίου·  
 C 704 τὸν δὲ κατορθώσαντα ἄφορον καὶ ἀτελῇ κρίνουσι.

40. Δεύτερον δὲ μέρος εἶναι τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν,  
 οἳ πλεῖστοί τε εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι, ἀστρα-  
 τεῖα καὶ ἀδεία τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι, πόλει μὴ προσ-  
 ιόντες μηδ' ἄλλη χρεῖα μηδ' ὀχλήσει κοινῇ·  
 πολλάκις γοῦν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ τοῖς  
 μὲν παρατετάχθαι συμβαίνει καὶ διακινδυνεύειν  
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἳ δ' ἀροῦσιν ἢ<sup>3</sup> σκάπτουσιν  
 ἀκινδύνως, προμάχους ἔχοντες ἐκείνους. ἔστι δ'  
 ἡ χώρα βασιλικὴ πᾶσα· μισθοῦ δ' αὐτὴν ἐπὶ  
 τετάρταις ἐργάζονται τῶν καρπῶν.

41. Τρίτον τὸ τῶν ποιμένων καὶ θηρευτῶν,  
 οἷς μόνοις ἔξεστι θηρεύειν καὶ θρεμματοτροφεῖν,  
 ὧνιὰ τε παρέχειν καὶ μισθοῦ ζεύγῃ· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ  
 τὴν γῆν ἐλευθεροῦν θηρίων καὶ τῶν σπερμολόγων  
 ὀρνέων μετροῦνται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σῖτον,  
 πλάνητα καὶ σκηνίτην νεμόμενοι βίου. ἵππον  
 δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντα τρέφειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἰδιώτῃ·  
 βασιλικὸν δ' ἐκάτερον νενόμισται τὸ κτῆμα, καὶ  
 εἰσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληταί.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ζώων καὶ περὶ πολιτείας, Corais and the later editors,  
 for καὶ ζώων καὶ πολιτείας.

<sup>2</sup> προφέρει, Corais and later editors, for προσφέρει.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ἢ, *w* and Corais read καὶ.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the more natural interpretation of the Greek  
 would be, "the farmers cultivate it for wages, on condition  
 of receiving a fourth part of the produce," whether "wages"  
 and "fourth part" are appositional, or "on condition of"  
 means, as it might, "in addition to." But Diodorus Siculus

observed as useful with reference to the prosperity of either fruits or living beings or concerning the government, he brings forward in public; and he who is thrice found false is required by law to keep silence for life, whereas he who has proved correct is adjudged exempt from tribute and taxes.

40. The second caste, he says, is that of the farmers, who are not only the most numerous, but also the most highly respected, because of their exemption from military service and right of freedom in their farming; and they do not approach a city, either because of a public disturbance or on any other business; at any rate, he says, it often happens that at the same time and place some are in battle array and are in peril of their lives against the enemy, while the farmers are ploughing or digging without peril, the latter having the former as defenders. The whole of the country is of royal ownership; and the farmers cultivate it for a rental in addition to paying a fourth part of the produce.<sup>1</sup>

41. The third caste is that of the shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, and to sell or hire out beasts of burden; and in return for freeing the land from wild beasts and seed-picking birds, they receive proportionate allowances of grain from the king, leading, as they do, a wandering and tent-dwelling life. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or elephant. The possession of either is a royal privilege, and there are men to take care of them.

(2. 40. 5) says, ("the rentals of the country they pay to the king . . . but apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury"). Hence the translator agrees with Tozer (*Selections from Strabo*, p. 317), who quotes Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde* II, p. 721).

42. Θήρα δὲ τῶν θηρίων τούτων τοιάδε. χωρίον ψιλὸν ὅσον τεττάρων ἢ πέντε σταδίων τάφρῳ περιχαράξαντες βαθείᾳ γεφυροῦσι τὴν εἴσοδον στενωτάτῃ γεφύρᾳ· εἴτ' εἰσαφιάσι θηλείας τὰς ἡμερωτάτας τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν καλυβίοις κρυπτοῖς ὑποκάθηνται λοχῶντες. ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν οὐ προσίασιν οἱ ἄγριοι, νύκτωρ δ' ἐφ' ἓνα ποιοῦνται τὴν εἴσοδον· εἰσιόντων δέ, κλείουσι τὴν εἴσοδον λάθρα, εἴτα τῶν ἡμέρων ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους εἰσάγοντες διαμάχονται πρὸς αὐτούς, ἅμα καὶ λιμῶ καταπονοῦντες· ἤδη δὲ καμνόντων, οἱ εὐθαρσέστατοι τῶν ἡνιόχων λάθρα καταβαίνοντες ὑποδύνουσιν ἕκαστος τῇ γαστρὶ τοῦ οἰκείου ὀχήματος· ὀρμώμενος δ' ἐνθένδε ὑποδυνεὶ τῷ ἀγρίῳ καὶ σύμποδα δεσμεῖ· γενομένου δὲ τούτου, κελεύουσι τοῖς τιθασοῖς τύπτειν τοὺς συμποδισθέντας, ἕως ἂν πέσωσιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, πεσόντων δ' ὠμοβοῖνοις ἱμᾶσι προσλαμβάνονται τοὺς αὐχένας αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τιθασῶν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ σειόμενοι τοὺς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀποσεύοιντο, τοῖς τραχήλοις αὐτῶν ἐμβάλλονται κύκλῳ τομάς, καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τοὺς ἱμάντας περιτιθέασιν, ὥσθ' ὑπ' ἀλγηδόνων εἴκειν τοῖς δεσμοῖς καὶ ἡσυχάζειν· τῶν δ' ἀλόντων ἀπολέξαντες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἢ νεωτέρους τῆς χρείας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπάγουσιν εἰς τοὺς σταθμούς, δῆσαντες δὲ τοὺς μὲν πόδας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοὺς δὲ αὐχένας πρὸς κίονα εὖ πεπηγότα, C 705 δαμάζουσι λιμῶ· ἔπειτα χλόῃ καλάμου καὶ πόας ἀναλαμβάνουσι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πειθαρχεῖν δι-

42. The chase of the elephant is conducted as follows: they dig a deep ditch round a treeless tract about four or five stadia in circuit and bridge the entrance with a very narrow bridge; and then, letting loose into the enclosure three or four of their tamest females, they themselves lie in wait under cover in hidden huts. Now the wild elephants do not approach by day, but they make the entrance one by one at night; and when they have entered, the men close the entrance secretly; and then, leading the most courageous of their tame combatants into the enclosure, they fight it out with the wild elephants, at the same time wearing them down also by starvation; and, once the animals are worn out, the boldest of the riders secretly dismount and each creeps under the belly of his own riding-elephant, and then, starting from here, creeps under the wild elephant and binds his feet together; and when this is done, they command the tamed elephants to beat those whose feet have been bound until they fall to the ground; and when they fall, the men fasten their necks to those of the tamed elephants with thongs of raw ox-hide; and in order that the wild elephants, when they shake those who are attempting to mount them, may not shake them off, the men make incisions round their necks and put the thongs round at these incisions, so that through pain they yield to their bonds and keep quiet. Of the elephants captured, they reject those that are too old or too young for service and lead away the rest to the stalls; and then, having tied their feet to one another and their necks to a firmly planted pillar, they subdue them by hunger; and then they restore them with green cane and grass. After this the elephants are

δάσκουσι, τοὺς μὲν διὰ λόγου, τοὺς δὲ μελισμῶ  
τινι καὶ τυμπανισμῶ κηλοῦντες· σπάνιοι δ' οἱ  
δυστιθάσειτοι· φύσει γὰρ διάκεινται πρῶως καὶ  
ἡμέρως, ὥστ' ἐγγύς εἶναι λογικῶ ζῶν· οἱ δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
ἐξαίμους τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι πεσόντας  
ἀνελόμενοι σώζουσιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, τοὺς<sup>2</sup> δὲ<sup>3</sup>  
ὑποδύντας μεταξὺ τῶν προσθίων ποδῶν ὑπερμα-  
χόμενοι διέσωσαν· τῶν δὲ χορτοφόρων καὶ διδα-  
σκάλων εἴ τινα παρὰ θυμὸν ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως  
ἐπιποθοῦσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπ' ἀνίας ἀπέχεσθαι τροφῆς,  
ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀποκαρτερεῖν.

43. Βιβάζονται δὲ καὶ τίκτουσιν, ὥς ἵπποι,  
τοῦ ἔαρος μάλιστα· καιρὸς δ' ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρρενι,  
ἐπειδὰν οἴστρω κατέχηται καὶ ἀγριαίνῃ· τότε  
δὴ καὶ λίπους τι διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς ἀνίησιν, ἣν  
ἔχει<sup>4</sup> παρὰ τοὺς κροτάφους· ταῖς δὲ θηλείαις,  
ὅταν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος πόρος ἀνεργῶς τυγχάνῃ.  
κύουσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ὀκτωκαίδεκα μῆνας,  
ἐλαχίστους δ' ἑκκαίδεκα· τρέφει δ' ἡ μήτηρ ἕξ  
ἔτη· ζῶσι δ' ὅσον μακροβιώτατοι ἄνθρωποι οἱ  
πολλοί, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διακόσια διατείνουσιν  
ἔτη· πολύνοσοι δὲ καὶ δυσίατοι. ἄκος δὲ πρὸς  
ὀφθαλμίαν μὲν βόειον γάλα προσκλυζόμενον,  
τοῖς πλείστοις δὲ τῶν νοσημάτων ὁ μέλας οἶνος  
πινόμενος, τραύμασι δὲ ποτὸν μὲν βούτυρον

<sup>1</sup> Instead of οἱ δέ, *moz* and *Corais* read *τινὲς γάρ*.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of τοὺς, *moz* and *Tzschucke* read οἱ.

<sup>3</sup> Before ὑποδύντας *Dhimos* insert καί.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of ἔχει, *F* and *Meineke* read ἴσχει.

<sup>1</sup> The so-called "must" (frenzied male) elephant discharges an abundance of dark oily matter from two pores in the forehead (see "Elephant" in *Encyc. Britannica*). "True,



taught to obey commands, some through words of command and others through being charmed by tunes and drum-beating. Those that are hard to tame are rare; for by nature the elephant is of a mild and gentle disposition, so that it is close to a rational animal; and some elephants have even taken up their riders who had fallen from loss of blood in the fight and carried them safely out of the battle, while others have fought for, and rescued, those who had crept between their fore-legs. And if in anger they have killed one of their feeders or masters, they yearn after him so strongly that through grief they abstain from food and sometimes even starve themselves to death.

43. They copulate and bear young like horses, mostly in the spring. It is breeding-time for the male when he is seized with frenzy and becomes ferocious; at that time he discharges a kind of fatty matter through the breathing-hole which he has beside his temples.<sup>1</sup> And it is breeding-time for the females when this same passage is open. They are pregnant eighteen months at the most and sixteen at the least; and the mother nurses her young six years. Most of them live as long as very long-lived human beings, and some continue to live even to two hundred years, although they are subject to many diseases and are hard to cure. A remedy for eye diseases is to bathe the eyes with cow's milk; but for most diseases they are given dark wine to drink; and, in the case of wounds, melted butter

on occasion male elephants get into the stage called *musth*, the symptoms of which, and possibly the cause, are certain head glands. *Musth* has no connection with sex, although this is commonly thought to be the case" (Major A. W. Smith, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1928, p. 632).

(ἐξάγει γὰρ τὰ σιδήρια), τὰ δ' ἔλκη σαρκὸν ὑείαις πυριῶσιν. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ ἕως τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ζῆν φησι, σπάνιον δὲ καὶ ἕως πεντακοσίων, κρατίστους δ' εἶναι περὶ τὰ διακόσια ἔτη, κυτσκεσθαι δὲ δεκαετίαν. μείζους δὲ τῶν Λιβυκῶν καὶ ἔρρωμενεστέρους ἐκείνός τε εἶρηκε καὶ ἄλλοι ταῖς οὖν προβοσκίσιν ἐπάλξεις καθαιρεῖν καὶ δένδρα ἀνασπᾶν πρόρριζα, διανισταμένους εἰς τοὺς ὀπισθίους πόδας. Νέαρχος δὲ καὶ ποδάγρας ἐν ταῖς θήραις τίθεσθαι κατὰ τινὰς συνδρόμους φησί, συνελαύνεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τιθασῶν τοὺς ἀγρίους εἰς ταύτας, κρειπτόνων ὄντων καὶ ἡνιοχουμένων. οὕτως δ' εὐτιθασεύτους εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ λιθάζειν ἐπὶ σκοπὸν μανθάνειν καὶ ὅπλοις χρῆσθαι· νεῖν τε κάλλιστα· μέγιστόν τε νομίζεσθαι κτῆμα ἐλεφάντων ἄρμα· ἄγεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ζυγόν<sup>1</sup> ὡς<sup>2</sup> καὶ καμήλους· γυναῖκα δ' εὐδοκιμεῖν, εἰ λάβοι παρὰ ἐραστοῦ δῶρον ἐλέφαντα. οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τῷ φήσαντι μόνων<sup>3</sup> βασιλέων εἶναι κτῆμα ἵππον καὶ ἐλέφαντα.<sup>4</sup>

44. Τῶν δὲ μυρμήκων τῶν χρυσωρύχων δέρματα ἰδεῖν φησιν οὗτος παρδαλείς ὅμοια. Μεγασθένης  
C 706 δὲ περὶ τῶν μυρμήκων οὕτω φησίν, ὅτι ἐν Δέρδαις, ἔθνει μεγάλῳ τῶν προσεφώνων καὶ ὀρεινῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὀροπέδιον εἶη τρισχιλίων πῶς τὸν κύκλον στα-

<sup>1</sup> ζυγόν CDFh, ζυγῶν other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς, Jones inserts from conj. of Tzschucke and Groskurd; Corais emends καὶ καμήλους to ἀχαλίνους ("without bridles"); Kramer and Meineke merely place an asterisk before the two words.

<sup>3</sup> μόνων F, μόνον other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> οὗτος . . . . ἐλέφαντα, omitted by *moz*, is probably a gloss.

is applied to them (for it draws out the bits of iron), while ulcers are poulticed with swine's flesh. Onesicritus says that they live as long as three hundred years and in rare cases even as long as five hundred; but that they are most powerful when about two hundred years of age, and that females are pregnant for a period of ten years. And both he and others state that they are larger and stronger than the Libyan elephants; at any rate, standing up on their hind feet, they tear down battlements and pull up trees by the roots by means of the proboscis. Nearchus says that in the hunt for them foot-traps also are put at places where tracks meet, and that the wild elephants are driven together into these by the tamed ones, which latter are stronger and guided by riders; and that they are so easy to tame that they learn to throw stones at a mark and to use weapons; and that they are excellent swimmers; and that a chariot drawn by elephants is considered a very great possession, and that they are driven under yoke like camels;<sup>1</sup> and that a woman is highly honoured if she receives an elephant as a gift from a lover. But this statement is not in agreement with that of the man who said that horse and elephant were possessed by kings alone.<sup>2</sup>

44. Nearchus says that the skins of gold-mining ants are like those of leopards. But Megasthenes speaks of these ants as follows: that among the Derdae, a large tribe of Indians living towards the east and in the mountains, there is a plateau approximately three thousand stadia in circuit, and that

<sup>1</sup> On this clause see critical note.

<sup>2</sup> § 41 above.

δίῳν· ὑποκειμένων δὲ τούτῳ χρυσωρυχείῳ, οἱ μεταλλεύοντες εἶεν μύρμηκες, θηρία<sup>1</sup> ἄλωπέκων οὐκ ἐλάττω, τάχος ὑπερφυῆς ἔχοντα καὶ ζῶντα<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ θήρας· ὀρύττει<sup>3</sup> δὲ χειμῶνι τὴν γῆν, σωρεύει<sup>4</sup> τε πρὸς τοῖς στομίοις, καθάπερ οἱ ἀσφάλακες· ψῆγμα δ' ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ μικρᾶς ἐψήσεως δεόμενον· τοῦθ' ὑποζυγίοις μετίασιν οἱ πλησιόχωροι λάθρα· φανερώς γὰρ διαμύχονται καὶ διώκουσι φεύγοντας, καταλαβόντες δὲ διαχρῶνται καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· πρὸς δὲ τὸ λαθεῖν κρέα θήρεια προτιθέασιν κατὰ μέρη, περισπασθέντων δ' ἀναιροῦνται τὸ ψῆγμα καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀργὸν διατίθενται, χωνεύειν οὐκ εἰδότες.

45. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν θηρευτῶν λόγῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν θηρίων ἐμνήσθημεν, ὧν τε Μεγασθένης εἶπε καὶ ἄλλοι, προσθετέον καὶ ταῦτα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Νέαρχος τὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν θαυμάζει πλῆθος καὶ τὴν κακίαν· ἀναφεύγειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πεδίων εἰς τὰς κατοικίας τὰς διαλανθανούσας ἐν ταῖς ἐπικλύσεσι καὶ πληροῦν τοὺς οἴκους· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑψηλὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς χλίνας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐξοικίζεσθαι πλεονασάντων· εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων διεφθείρετο, καὶ ἐρημωθῆναι τὴν χώραν. καὶ τὴν μικρότητα δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι χαλεπὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους, τὴν μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσφύλακτον, τὴν δὲ δι'

<sup>1</sup> θηρία, Kramer and later editors, for θηρίων.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντα καὶ ζῶντα, Kramer and later editors, for ἔχοντες ζῶντες.

<sup>3</sup> ὀρύττουσι Eh.

<sup>4</sup> σωρεύουσι E, ἀσπάλακες Xylander and other editors before Kramer.

below it are gold mines, of which the miners are ants, animals that are no smaller than foxes, are surpassingly swift, and live on the prey they catch. They dig holes in winter and heap up the earth at the mouths of the holes, like moles;<sup>1</sup> and the gold-dust requires but little smelting. The neighbouring peoples go after it on beasts of burden by stealth, for if they go openly the ants fight it out with them and pursue them when they flee, and then, having overtaken them, exterminate both them and their beasts; but to escape being seen by the ants, the people lay out pieces of flesh of wild beasts at different places, and when the ants are drawn away from around the holes, the people take up the gold-dust and, not knowing how to smelt it, dispose of it unwrought to traders at any price it will fetch.

45. But since, in my account of the hunters and of the wild beasts, I have mentioned what both Megasthenes and others have said, I must go on to add the following. Nearchus wonders at the number of the reptiles and their viciousness, for he says that at the time of the inundations they flee up from the plains into the settlements that escape the inundations, and fill the houses; and that on this account, accordingly, the inhabitants not only make their beds high, but sometimes even move out of their houses when infested by too many of them; and that if the greater part of the multitude of reptiles were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be depopulated; and that the smallness of some of them is troublesome as well as the huge size of others, the small ones because it is difficult to guard against them, and the huge ones because of their strength,

<sup>1</sup> A species of the *Spalacidae*.

ἰσχύν, ὅπου καὶ ἑκαταπλήρεις ἐχίδνας ὀράσθαι· ἐπιδούς δὲ περιφοιτᾶν ἰᾶσθαι πεπιστευμένους, καὶ εἶναι σχεδόν τι μόνην ταύτην ἰατρικὴν· μηδὲ γὰρ νόσους εἶναι πολλὰς διὰ τὴν λιτότητα τῆς διαίτης καὶ τὴν αἰνίαν· εἰ δὲ γένοιτο, ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς σοφιστάς. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων μεγεθῶν οὐδὲν ἰδεῖν φησιν, ἔχιοναν δὲ μόνον ἐννέα πηχῶν καὶ σπιθαμῆς. καὶ ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κομισθεῖσαν ἐκεῖθεν τηλικαύτην πως εἶδομεν. ἔχεις δὲ πολλοὺς φησι πολὺ ἐλάττους καὶ ἀσπίδας, σκορπίους δὲ μεγάλους, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων οὕτως ὀχλεῖν ὥς τὰ λεπτὰ ὀφείδια, οὐ μείζω σπιθαμιαίων· εὐρίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἐν σκηναῖς, ἐν σκεύεσιν, ἐν θριγγοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐγκεκρυμμένα, τοὺς δὲ πληγέντας αἱμορροεῖν ἐκ παντὸς πόρου μετὰ ἐπωδυνίας, ἔπειτα ἀποθνήσκειν, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσει τις εὐθύς· τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν ῥαδίαν εἶναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ῥιζῶν καὶ φαρμάκων. κροκοδείλους τε οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε βλαπτικούς ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ φησιν εὐρίσκεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ζῶα τὰ πλείιστα τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ γεννᾶσθαι πλὴν ἵππου ποταμίου. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ τοῦτόν φησι γεννᾶσθαι. τῶν δ' ἐκ θαλάττης φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος εἰς μὲν τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνατρέχειν μηδὲν ἔξω θρίσσης καὶ κεστρέως καὶ δελφῖνος διὰ τοὺς κροκοδείλους, ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *θριγγοῖς*, C<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>E<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>h<sup>1</sup>isw read *θρύοις* ("rushes"); x reads *θριγγίοις*, and Corais *θριγκοῖς*.

<sup>2</sup> Or "baggage."

<sup>2</sup> See critical note.

inasmuch as vipers even sixteen cubits long are to be seen; and that charmers go around who are believed to cure the wounds; and that this is almost the only art of medicine, for the people do not have many diseases on account of the simplicity of their diet and their abstinence from wine; but that if diseases arise, they are cured by the Wise Men. But Aristobulus says that he saw none of the animals of the huge size that are everywhere talked about, except a viper nine cubits and one span long. And I myself saw one of about the same size in Aegypt that had been brought from India. He says that you have many much smaller vipers, and asps, and large scorpions, but that none of these is so troublesome as the slender little snakes that are no more than a span long, for they are found hidden in tents, in vessels,<sup>1</sup> and in hedges<sup>2</sup>; and that persons bitten by them bleed from every pore with anguish, and then die unless they receive aid immediately; but that aid is easy because of the virtue of the Indian roots and drugs. He says further that crocodiles, neither numerous nor harmful to man, are to be found in the Indus, and also that most of the other animals are the same as those which are found in the Nile except the hippopotamus. Onesicritus, however, says that this animal too is found in India. And Aristobulus says that on account of the crocodiles no sea-fish swim up into the Nile except the *thrissa*,<sup>3</sup> the *cestreus*,<sup>4</sup> and the dolphin,<sup>5</sup> but that there is a

<sup>3</sup> Apparently of the genus *Trichiuridae* (cutlass fish), or else *Engraulidae* (small herring-like fish used for pickling and sauces).

<sup>4</sup> Apparently of the genus *Mugilidae* (grey mullets).

<sup>5</sup> The dolphin, however, is a mammal, not a fish.

δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ πλήθος· τῶν δὲ καρίδων τὰς μὲν μικρὰς μέχρι ὄρους<sup>1</sup> ἀναθεῖν, τὰς δὲ μεγάλας μέχρι τῶν συμβολῶν τοῦ τε Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν θηρίων τοσαῦτα λέγεται· ἐπαινούντες δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Μεγασθένη λέγωμεν τὰ ἐξῆς, ὧν ἀπελίπομεν.

46. Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας τέταρτον φησιν εἶναι μέρος τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰς τέχνας καὶ τοὺς καπηλικοὺς καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡ ἐργασία· ὧν οἱ μὲν φόρον τελοῦσι καὶ λειτουργίας παρέχονται τακτίς, τοῖς δ' ὀπλοποιοῖς καὶ ναυπηγοῖς μισθοὶ καὶ τροφαὶ παρὰ βασιλέως ἔκκεινται· μόνῳ γὰρ ἐργάζονται· παρέχει δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ στρατοφύλαξ, τὰς δὲ ναῦς μισθοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις.

47. Πέμπτον δ'<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμιστῶν, οἷς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν σχολῇ καὶ πότοις ὁ βίος ἐστίν, ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ διαιτωμένοις, ὥστε τὰς ἐξόδους, ὅταν ἢ<sup>3</sup> χρεία, ταχέως ποιεῖσθαι, πλήν τῶν σωματίων μηδὲν ἄλλο κομίζοντας παρ' ἑαυτῶν.

48. Ἑκτοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἔφοροι· τούτοις δ' ἐποπτεύειν δέδοται τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ ἀναγγέλλειν λάθρα τῷ βασιλεῖ, συνεργοὺς ποιουμένοις τὰς ἐταίρας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοῖς δὲ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ τὰς αὐτόθι καθίστανται δ' οἱ ἄριστοι καὶ πιστότατοι.

<sup>1</sup> For ὄρους, Groskurd conj. τῶν ὁρῶν, Corais Ὀρῶν.

<sup>2</sup> δ', before ἐστὶ, Meineke inserts. <sup>3</sup> ἢ z, εἴη other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Of the genus *Caridea* (shrimp, prawns, and the like).



large number of different fish in the Indus. Of the *carides*,<sup>1</sup> the small ones swim up the Indus only as far as a mountain,<sup>2</sup> but the large ones as far as the confluence of the Indus and the Acesines. So much, then, is reported about the wild animals. Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his account from the point where I left off.

46. After the hunters and the shepherds, he says, follows the fourth caste—the artisans, the tradesmen, and the day-labourers; and of these, some pay tribute to the state and render services prescribed by the state, whereas the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions, at a published scale, from the king, for these work for him alone; and arms are furnished the soldiers by the commander-in-chief, whereas the ships are let out for hire to sailors and merchants by the admiral.

47. The fifth caste is that of the warriors, who, when they are not in service, spend their lives in idleness and at drinking-bouts, being maintained at the expense of the royal treasury; so that they make their expeditions quickly when need arises, since they bring nothing else of their own but their bodies.

48. The sixth is that of the inspectors,<sup>3</sup> to whom it is given to inspect what is being done and report secretly to the king, using the courtesans as colleagues, the city inspectors using the city courtesans and the camp inspectors the camp courtesans; but the best and most trustworthy men are appointed to this office.

<sup>2</sup> "A mountain" is unintelligible. The only plausible emendations yield "the mountains" or "the Uri" (a people mentioned by Pliny 6. 20, 23). See critical note.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of political and military officials.

49. Ἑβδομοὶ δ' οἱ σύμβουλοι καὶ σύνοδοι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἀρχεῖα καὶ δικαστήρια καὶ ἡ διοικήσεις τῶν ὅλων. οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὔτε γαμεῖν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους οὔτ' ἐπιτήδευμα οὔτ' ἐργασίαν μεταλαμβάνειν ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης, οὐδὲ πλείους μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὸν αὐτόν, πλὴν εἰ τῶν φιλοσόφων τις εἴη· ἐᾶσθαι γὰρ τοῦτον δι' ἀρετὴν.

C 708 50. Τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἀγορανόμοι, οἱ δ' ἀστυνόμοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ποταμοὺς ἐξεργάζονται καὶ ἀναμετροῦσι τὴν γῆν, ὡς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τὰς κλειστάς διώρυγας, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰς ὀχετείας ταμιεύεται τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπισκοποῦσιν, ὅπως ἐξ ἴσης πᾶσιν ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων παρείη χρήσις. οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν θηρευτῶν ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ τιμῆς καὶ κολάσεώς εἰσι κύριοι τοῖς ἐπαξίοις· καὶ φορολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς τέχνας τὰς περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιβλέπουσιν, ὑλοτόμων, τεκτόνων, χαλκέων, μεταλλευτῶν· ὁδοποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ κατὰ δέκα στάδια στήλην τιθέασιν, τὰς ἐκτροπὰς καὶ τὰ διαστήματα δηλοῦσαν.

51. Οἱ δ' ἀστυνόμοι εἰς ἑξ πεντάδας διήρηνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰ δημιουργικὰ σκοποῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ξενοδοχοῦσιν· καὶ γὰρ καταγωγὰς νέμουνσι καὶ τοῖς βίοις παρακολουθοῦσι, παρέδρους δόντες, καὶ προπέμπουσιν ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ χρήματα τῶν

<sup>1</sup> The "city commissioners" (ἀστυνόμοι) at Athens (ten in number) had charge of the police, the streets, and the public works.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the market commissioners.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. when the inundations destroyed the landmarks.

<sup>4</sup> See § 40 above.

49. The seventh is that of the advisers and councillors of the king, who hold the chief offices of state, the judgeships, and the administration of everything. It is not legal for a man either to marry a wife from another caste or to change one's pursuit or work from one to another; nor yet for the same man to engage in several, except in case he should be one of the philosophers, for, Megasthenes says, the philosopher is permitted to do so on account of his superiority.

50. Of the officials, some are market commissioners, others are city commissioners,<sup>1</sup> and others are in charge of the soldiers. Among these, the first <sup>2</sup> keep the rivers improved and the land remeasured,<sup>3</sup> as in Aegypt, and inspect the closed canals from which the water is distributed into the conduits, in order that all may have an equal use of it. The same men also have charge of the hunters and are authorized to reward or punish those who deserve either. They also collect the taxes <sup>4</sup> and superintend the crafts connected with the land—those of wood-cutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. And they make roads, and at every ten stadia place pillars showing the by-roads and the distances.

51. The city commissioners are divided into six groups of five each. One group looks after the arts of the handicraftsmen. Another group entertains strangers, for they assign them lodgings, follow closely their behaviour, giving them attendants,<sup>5</sup> and either escort them forth or forward the property <sup>6</sup> of those who die; and they take care of

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* partly as advisers, partly as spies (Tozer, *op. cit.*, p. 320).

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* to their relatives.

ἀποθανόντων, νοσούντων τε ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ ἀποθανόντας θάπτουσι. τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν, οἱ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ θανάτους ἐξετάζουσι, πότε καὶ πῶς, τῶν τε φόρων χάριν καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἀφανεῖς εἶεν αἱ κρείττους καὶ χείρους γοναὶ καὶ θάνατοι. τέταρτοι δ' <sup>1</sup> οἱ περὶ τὰς καπηλείας καὶ μεταβολάς· οἷς μέτρων μέλει καὶ τῶν ὥραίων, ὅπως ἀπὸ συσσήμου πωλοῖτο. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ πλείω τὸν αὐτὸν μεταβάλλεσθαι, πλὴν εἰ διττοὺς ὑποτελοῖη φόρους. πέμπτοι δ' οἱ προεστώτες τῶν δημιουργουμένων καὶ πωλοῦντες ταῦτ' ἀπὸ συσσήμου, χωρὶς μὲν τὰ καινά, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ παλαιά· τῷ μιγνύντι δὲ ζημία. ἕκτοι δὲ καὶ ὕστατοι οἱ τὰς δεκάτας ἐκλέγοντες τῶν πωλουμένων· θάνατος δὲ τῷ κλέψαντι τὸ τέλος. ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἕκαστοι ταῦτα, κοινῇ δ' ἐπιμελοῦνται τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν δημοσίων ἐπισκευῆς, τιμῶν <sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ λιμένων καὶ ἱερῶν.

52. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀστυνόμους τρίτη ἐστὶ συναρχία ἢ περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικά, καὶ αὕτη ταῖς πεντάσιν ἐξαχῇ διωρισμένη· ὧν τὴν μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ναυάρχου τάττουσι, τὴν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν βοϊκῶν ζευγῶν, δι' ὧν ὄργανα κομίζεται καὶ τροφή αὐτοῖς τε καὶ κτήνεσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ χρήσιμα τῆς στρατιᾶς. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς δια-

<sup>1</sup> δ', before οἱ, Meineke inserts.

<sup>2</sup> τιμῶν, Meineke (following conj. of Kramer), emends to τειχῶν.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "the stamp impressed on weights and measures," which were "tested every six months" (Tozer, *op. cit.*, p. 320, quoting Lassen, *op. cit.*, II. p. 572).

them when they are sick and bury them when they die. The third group is that of those who scrutinize births and deaths, when and how they take place, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births and deaths, whether better or worse, may not be unknown. The fourth group is that which has to do with sales and barter; and these look after measures and the fruits of the season, that the latter may be sold by stamp.<sup>1</sup> But the same man cannot barter more than one thing without paying double taxes. The fifth group is that of those who have charge of the works made by artisans and sell these by stamp, the new apart from the old; and the man who mixes them is fined. The sixth and last group is that of those who collect a tenth part of the price of the things sold; and death is the penalty for the man who steals.<sup>2</sup> These are the special duties performed by each group, but they all take care jointly of matters both private and public, and of the repairs of public works, of prices,<sup>3</sup> market-places, harbours, and temples.

52. After the city commissioners there is a third joint administration, in charge of military affairs, which is also divided into six groups of five each. Of these groups, one is stationed with the admiral; another with the man in charge of the ox-teams, by which are transported instruments of war and food for both man and beast and all other requisites of the army. These also furnish the menials, I mean

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the taxpayer who cheats the government.

<sup>3</sup> Meineke emends the Greek word for "prices" to that for "walls" (see critical note), thus making "walls, market-places, harbours, and temples" in apposition with "public works."

C 709 κόνους παρέχουσι, τυμπανιστάς, κώδωνοφόρους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἵπποκόμους καὶ μηχανοποιούς καὶ τοὺς τούτων ὑπηρέτας· ἐκπέμπουσί τε πρὸς κώδωνας τοὺς χορτολόγους, τιμῇ καὶ κολάσει τὸ τάχος κατασκευαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν πεζῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι· τέταρτοι δ' οἱ τῶν ἵππων· πέμπτοι δ' ἄρμάτων· ἕκτοι δὲ ἐλεφάντων. βασιλικοὶ τε σταθμοὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ θηρίοις, βασιλικὸν δὲ καὶ ὄπλοφυλάκιον· παραδίδωσι γὰρ ὁ στρατιώτης τὴν τε σκευὴν εἰς τὸ ὄπλοφυλάκιον καὶ τὸν ἵππον εἰς τὸν ἱππῶνα καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὁμοίως· χρῶνται δ' ἀχαλινώτοις. τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς βόες ἔλκουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι ἀπὸ φορβειᾶς ἄγονται τοῦ μὴ παρεμπίπρασθαι τὰ σκέλη, μηδὲ τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἄρμασιν ἀμβλύνεσθαι. δύο δ' εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι παραβάται πρὸς τῷ ἡνίοχῳ· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος ἡνίοχος τέταρτος, τρεῖς δ' οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοξεύοντες.

53. Εὐτελεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν Ἰνδοὶ πάντες, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις· οὐδ' ὄχλῳ περιττῷ χαίρουσι· διόπερ εὐκοσμοῦσι. πλείστη δ' ἐκεχειρία περὶ τὰς κλοπὰς· γενόμενος<sup>1</sup> γοῦν ἐν τῷ Σανδροκόττου στρατοπέδῳ φησὶν ὁ Μεγασθένης, τετταράκοντα μυριάδων πλήθους ἰδρυμένου, μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἰδεῖν ἀνηνεγμένα κλέμματα πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων δραχμῶν ἄξια, ἀγράφοις καὶ ταῦτα νόμοις χρωμένοις. οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα εἰδέναι

<sup>1</sup> γενόμενος, Tzschucke and later editors, for γενομένους.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the elephants.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. of royal ownership.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. before they are used in battle.

drum-beaters, gong-carriers, as also grooms and machinists and their assistants; and they send forth the foragers to the sound of bells, and effect speed and safety by means of reward and punishment. The third group consists of those in charge of the infantry; the fourth, of those in charge of the horses; the fifth, of those in charge of the chariots; and the sixth, of those in charge of the elephants. The stalls for both horses and beasts<sup>1</sup> are royal,<sup>2</sup> and the armoury is also royal; for the soldier returns the equipment to the armoury, the horse to the royal horse-stable, and likewise the beast; and they use them without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen; but the horses are led by halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed by harness, and also that the spirit they have when drawing chariots may not be dulled.<sup>3</sup> There are two combatants in each chariot in addition to the charioteer; but the elephant carries four persons, the driver and three bowmen, and these three shoot arrows from the elephant's back.

53. All Indians live a simple life, and especially when they are on expeditions; and neither do they enjoy useless disturbances; and on this account they behave in an orderly manner. But their greatest self-restraint pertains to theft; at any rate, Megasthenes says that when he was in the camp of Sandrocottus, although the number in camp was forty thousand, he on no day saw reports of stolen articles that were worth more than two hundred drachmae; and that too among a people who use unwritten laws only. For, he continues, they have no knowledge of written letters,<sup>4</sup> and regulate every

<sup>4</sup> But cf. § 67 (below).

αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μνήμης ἕκαστα διοικεῖσθαι εὐπραγεῖν<sup>1</sup> δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν· οἶνον τε γὰρ οὐ πίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐν θυσίαις μόνον, πίνειν δ' ἀπ' ὀρύξης ἀντὶ κριθίνων συντιθέντας· καὶ σιτία δὲ τὸ πλεόν ὄρουσαν εἶναι ροφητήν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δὲ καὶ συμβολαίοις τὴν ἀπλότητα ἐλέγχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολυδίκους εἶναι· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποθήκης<sup>2</sup> οὔτε παρακαταθήκης εἶναι δίκας, οὐδὲ μαρτύρων οὐδὲ σφραγίδων αὐτοῖς δεῖν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν παραβαλλομένους· καὶ τὰ οἴκοι δὲ τὸ πλεόν ἀφρουρεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σωφρονικά, τὰλλα δ' οὐδ'<sup>3</sup> ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο· τὸ μόνους διαιτᾶσθαι ἅει καὶ τὸ μὴ μίαν εἶναι πᾶσιν ὥραν κοινὴν δείπνου τε καὶ ἀρίστου, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκάστῳ φίλον· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸν πολιτικὸν βίον ἐκείνως κρεῖττον.

54. Γυμνασίων<sup>4</sup> δὲ μάλιστα τρίψιν δοκιμάζουσι καὶ ἄλλως καὶ διὰ σκυταλίδων ἐβενίνων λείων ἐξομαλίζονται τὰ σώματα. λιταὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ καὶ μικρὰ χώματα. ὑπεναντίως δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ λιτότητι κοσμοῦνται. χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ καὶ διαλίθῳ κόσμῳ χρώνται σινδόνας τε φοροῦσιν εὐανθεῖς καὶ σκιάδια αὐτοῖς ἔπεται· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος τιμῶντες ἀσκούσιν ὅσα καλλωπίζει τὴν ὄψιν. ἀλήθειάν τε ὁμοίως καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀποδέχονται· διόπερ οὐδὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῶν γερόντων προνομίαν διδούσιν, ἂν μὴ καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν πλεο-

<sup>1</sup> εὐπραγεῖν F, εὖ πράττειν other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὑποθήκης, Tyrwhitt and later editors, for ἐπιθήκης.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of οὐδ', *μαρ* and Corais and Meineke read οὐκ.

<sup>4</sup> Γυμνασίων E, Γυμνάσιον other MSS. ; so Corais and Meineke.



single thing from memory ; but still they fare happily, because of their simplicity and their frugality ; and indeed they do not drink wine, except at sacrifices, but drink a beverage which they make from rice instead of barley ;<sup>1</sup> and also that their food consists for the most part of rice porridge ; and their simplicity is also proven in their laws and contracts, which arises from the fact that they are not litigious ; for they do not have lawsuits over either pledges or deposits, or have need of witnesses or seals, but trust persons with whom they stake their interests ; and further, they generally leave unguarded what they have at their homes. Now these things tend to sobriety ; but no man could approve those other habits of theirs—of always eating alone and of not having one common hour for all for dinner and breakfast instead of eating as each one likes ; for eating in the other way is more conducive to a social and civic life.

54. For exercise they approve most of all of rubbing ; and, among other ways, they smooth out their bodies through means of smooth sticks of ebony. Their funerals are simple and their mounds small. But, contrary to their simplicity in general, they like to adorn themselves ; for they wear apparel embroidered with gold, and use ornaments set with precious stones, and wear gay-coloured linen garments, and are accompanied with sun-shades ; for, since they esteem beauty, they practise everything that can beautify their appearance. Further, they respect alike virtue and truth ; and therefore they give no precedence even to the age of old men, unless these are also superior in wisdom. They

<sup>1</sup> " Arrack " is the name of this beverage.

C 710 νεκτώσι. πολλὰς δὲ γαμοῦσιν ὠνητὰς παρὰ τῶν  
 γονέων, λαμβάνουσιν τε ἀντιδιδόντες ζευγος βοῶν,  
 ὧν τὰς μὲν εὐπειθείας<sup>1</sup> χάριν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας  
 ἡδονῆς καὶ πολυτεκνίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ σωφρονεῖν  
 ἀναγκάσαιεν, πορνεύειν ἔξεστι. θύει δὲ οὐδεὶς  
 ἐστεφανωμένος οὐδὲ θυμῷ οὐδὲ σπένδει, οὐδὲ  
 σφάττουσι τὸ ἱερεῖον, ἀλλὰ πνίγουσιν, ἵνα μὴ  
 λελωβημένον, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληρον διδῶται τῷ θεῷ.  
 ψευδομαρτυρίας δ' ὁ ἀλούς ἀκρωτηριάζεται, ὃ τε  
 πηρώσας οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ μόνον ἀντιπιάσχει, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ χειροκοπεῖται· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τεχνίτου χεῖρα ἢ  
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἀφέληται, θανατοῦται. δούλοις δὲ  
 οὗτος μὲν φησι μηδένα Ἰνδῶν χρῆσθαι, Ὀνη-  
 σίκριτος δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Μουσικανοῦ τοῦτ' ἴδιον  
 ἀποφαίνει, καὶ ὡς κατόρθωμά γε· καθάπερ καὶ  
 ἄλλα πολλὰ λέγει τῆς χώρας ταύτης κατορθώ-  
 ματα, ὡς εὐνομωτάτης.

55. Τῷ βασιλεῖ δ' ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος θεραπεία  
 διὰ γυναικῶν ἐστίν, ὠνητῶν καὶ αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν  
 πατέρων· ἔξω δὲ τῶν θυρῶν οἱ σωματοφύλακες  
 καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στρατιωτικόν· μεθύοντα δὲ κτείνασα  
 γυνὴ βασιλέα γέρας ἔχει συνεῖναι τῷ ἐκείνῳ  
 διαδεξαμένῳ· διαδέχονται δ' οἱ παῖδες. οὐδ'  
 ὑπνοῖ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ νύκτωρ δὲ  
 καθ' ὥραν ἀναγκάζεται τὴν κοίτην ἀλλάττειν διὰ  
 τὰς ἐπιβουλάς. τῶν τε μὴ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ πόλεμον ἐξό-  
 δων μία μὲν ἐστίν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις, ἐν αἷς

<sup>1</sup> εὐπαθείας ἰ.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν τε μὴ, Corais and later editors, for τῶν γε μὴν.

marry many wives, whom they purchase from their parents, and they get them in exchange for a yoke of oxen, marrying some of them for the sake of prompt obedience and the others for the sake of pleasure and numerous offspring; but if the husband does not force them to be chaste, they are permitted to prostitute themselves. No one wears a garland when he makes sacrifice or burns incense or pours out a libation; neither do they cut the throat of the victim, but strangle it, in order that it may be given to the god in its entirety and not mutilated. Anyone caught guilty of false-witness has his hands and feet cut off, and anyone who maims a person not only suffers in return the same thing, but also has his hands cut off; and if he causes the loss of a hand or an eye of a craftsman, he is put to death. But although Megasthenes says that no Indian uses slaves, Onesicritus declares that slavery is peculiar to the Indians in the country of Musicanus, and tells what a success it is there, just as he mentions many other successes of this country, speaking of it as a country excellently governed.

55. Now the care of the king's person is committed to women, who also are purchased from their fathers; and the body-guards and the rest of the military force are stationed outside the gates. And a woman who kills a king when he is drunk receives as her reward the privilege of consorting with his successor; and their children succeed to the throne. Again, the king does not sleep in daytime; and even at night he is forced to change his bed from time to time because of the plots against him. Among the non-military departures he makes from his palace, one is that to the courts, where he spends

διημερεύει διακούων οὐδὲν ἡττον κἂν ὥρα γένηται τῆς τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ τῶν σκυταλίδων τριῖσις (ἅμα γὰρ καὶ διακούει καὶ τρίβεται τεττάρων περιστάντων τριβέων), ἑτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔξοδος. τρίτη δ' ἐπὶ θήραν βακχική τις, κύκλῳ γυναικῶν περικεχυμένων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τῶν δορυφέρων· παρεσχοίνισται δ' ἡ ὁδός, τῷ δὲ παρελθόντι ἐντὸς<sup>1</sup> μέχρι γυναικῶν θάνατος· προηγούνται δὲ τυμπανισταὶ καὶ κωδωνοφόροι. κυνηγετεῖ δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς περιφράγμασιν ὑπὸ βήματος τοξεύων (παρεστᾶσι δ' ἔνοπλοι δύο ἢ τρεῖς γυναῖκες), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀφράκτοις θήραις ἀπ' ἐλέφαντος· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἀρμάτων, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἵππων, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων, ὥς καὶ συστρατεύουσιν, ἡσκημέναι παντὶ ὄπλῳ.

56. Ἐχει μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πολλὴν ἀήθειαν πρὸς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔτι μάλιστα μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦδε. φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς Καύκασον οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γυναιξὶ μίσγεσθαι καὶ σαρκοφαγεῖν τὰ τῶν συγγενῶν σώματα· πετροκυλιστὰς δ' εἶναι κερκοπιθήκους, οἱ λίθους κατακυλίουσι κρημνοβατοῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς διώκοντας· τὰ τε παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμερὰ ζῶα τὰ πλείστα παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄγρια εἶναι· ἵππους τε λέγει μονοκέρωτας ἐλαφοκράνους· καλίμους δέ, μῆκος μὲν τριάκοντα ὀργυῶν τοὺς ὀρθίους, τοὺς δὲ χαμαικλινεῖς πεντήκοντα, πάχος δέ, ὥστε τὴν διάμετρον τοῖς μὲν εἶναι τρίπηχυν, τοῖς δὲ διπλασίαν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκτός CDEmosw.

the whole day hearing cases to the end, none the less even if the hour comes for the care of his person. This care of his person consists of his being rubbed with sticks of wood, for while he is hearing the cases through, he is also rubbed by four men who stand around him and rub him. A second departure is that to the sacrifices. A third is that to a kind of Bacchic chase wherein he is surrounded by women, and, outside them, by the spear-bearers. The road is lined with ropes; and death is the penalty for anyone who passes inside the ropes to the women; and they are preceded by drum-beaters and gong-carriers. The king hunts in the fenced enclosures, shooting arrows from a platform in his chariot (two or three armed women stand beside him), and also in the unfenced hunting-grounds from an elephant; and the women ride partly in chariots, partly on horses, and partly on elephants, and they are equipped with all kinds of weapons, as they are when they go on military expeditions with the men.

56. Now these customs are very novel as compared with our own, but the following are still more so. For example, Megasthenes says that the men who inhabit the Caucasus have intercourse with the women in the open and that they eat the bodies of their kinsmen; and that the monkeys are stone-rollers, and, haunting precipices, roll stones down upon their pursuers; and that most of the animals which are tame in our country are wild in theirs. And he mentions horses with one horn and the head of a deer; and reeds, some straight up thirty fathoms in length, and others lying flat on the ground fifty fathoms, and so large that some are three cubits and others six in diameter.

57. Ὑπερεκπίπτων δ' ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες πεντασπιθάμους ἀνθρώπους λέγει καὶ τρισπιθάμους, ὧν τινὰς ἀμύκτηρας, ἀναπνοὰς ἔχοντας μόνον δύο ὑπὲρ τοῦ στόματος· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τρισπιθάμους πόλεμον εἶναι ταῖς γεράνοισι (ὃν καὶ Ὅμηρον δηλοῦν) καὶ τοῖς πέρδιξι, οὓς χηνομεγέθεις εἶναι· τούτους δ' ἐκλέγειν αὐτῶν τὰ ὠὰ καὶ φθείρειν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὠτοκεῖν τὰς γεράνους· διόπερ μηδαμῶς μὴτ' <sup>1</sup> ὠὰ εὐρίσκεσθαι γεράνων, μὴτ' οὖν νεόττια· πλειστάκις δ' ἐκπίπτειν γέρανον χαλκῇν ἔχουσαν ἀκίδα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν πληγμάτων. ὅμοια δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑνωτοκοιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλων τερατωδῶν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀγρίους μὴ κομισθῆναι παρὰ Σανδρόκοττον, ἀποκαρτερεῖν γάρ· ἔχειν δὲ τὰς μὲν πτέρνας πρύσθεν, τοὺς δὲ ταρσοὺς ὀπισθεν καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους. ἀστόμους δὲ τινὰς ἀχθῆναι, ἡμέρους ἀνθρώπους, οἰκεῖν δὲ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Γάγγου, τρέφεσθαι δ' ἀτμοῖς ὑπτῶν κρεῶν καὶ καρπῶν καὶ ἀνθέων ὁσμαῖς, ἀντὶ τῶν στομάτων ἔχοντας ἀναπνοὰς, χαλεπαίνειν δὲ τοῖς δυσώδεσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιγίνεσθαι μόλις, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους, Ὡκύποδός τε <sup>2</sup> ἱστοροῦντας, ἵππων μᾶλλον ἀπιόντας, Ἑνωτοκοίτας τε <sup>3</sup> ποδῆρη τὰ ὦτα ἔχοντας, ὡς ἐγκαθεύδειν, ἰσχυροὺς δ', ὥστ' ἀνασπᾶν δένδρα καὶ ῥήττειν νευράν, Μονομμάτους

<sup>1</sup> μὴτ', Corais and later editors, for μῆδ'.

<sup>2</sup> τε, Kramer, for δέ.

<sup>3</sup> τε, Kramer, for δέ.

<sup>1</sup> About 22½ inches.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 3. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 2. 1. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Swift-footed.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. men that sleep in their ears.

57. But Megasthenes, going beyond all bounds to the realm of myth, speaks of people five spans long and three spans<sup>1</sup> long, some without nostrils, having instead merely two breathing orifices above their mouths; and he says that it is the people three spans long that carry on war with the cranes (the war to which Homer<sup>2</sup> refers) and with the partridges, which are as large as geese; and that these people pick out and destroy the eggs of the cranes, which, he adds, lay eggs there; and that it is on this account that neither eggs nor, of course, young cranes are anywhere to be found; and that very often a crane escapes from the fights there with a bronze arrow-point in its body. Like this, also, are the stories of the people that sleep in their ears,<sup>3</sup> and the wild people, and other monstrosities. Now the wild people, he continues, could not be brought to Sandrocottus, for they would starve themselves to death; and they have their heels in front, with toes and flat of the foot behind; but certain mouthless people were brought to him, a gentle folk; and they live round the sources of the Ganges; and they sustain themselves by means of vapours from roasted meats and odours from fruits and flowers, since instead of mouths they have only breathing orifices; and they suffer pain when they breathe bad odours, and on this account can hardly survive, particularly in a camp. He says that the other peoples were described to him by the philosophers, who reported the Ocypodes,<sup>4</sup> a people who run away faster than horses; and Enotocoetae,<sup>5</sup> who have ears that extend to their feet, so that they can sleep in them, and are strong enough to pluck up trees and to break bowstrings; and another people,

τε ἄλλους, ὧτα μὲν ἔχοντας κυνός, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ μετώπῳ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, ὀρθοχαίτας, λασίους τὰ στήθη· τοὺς δὲ Ἀμύκτηρας εἶναι παμφάγους, ὠμοφάγους, ὀλιγοχρονίους, πρὸ γήρως θνήσκοντας· τοῦ δὲ στόματος τὸ ἄνω προχειλότερον εἶναι πολὺ· περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει Σιμωνίδης καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις. μῦθος δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Τιμαγένους λεχθέν,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι χαλκὸς ὕοιτο σταλαγμοῖς χαλκοῖς καὶ σύροιτο. ἐγγυτέρω δὲ πίστεώς φησιν ὁ Μεγασθένης, ὅτι οἱ ποταμοὶ καταφέροιεν ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φόρος ἀπάγοιτο τῷ βασιλεῖ· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συμβαίνει.

58. Περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγων τοὺς μὲν ὀρεινοὺς αὐτῶν φησιν ὑμνητὰς εἶναι τοῦ Διονύσου, δεικνύντας τεκμήρια τὴν ἀγρίαν ἄμπελον, παρὰ μόνοις<sup>2</sup> φυομένην, καὶ κιττὸν καὶ δάφνην καὶ μυρρίνην καὶ πύξον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀειθαλῶν, ὧν μηδὲν εἶναι πέραν Εὐφράτου, πλὴν ἐν παραδείσοις σπάνια καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας σωζόμενα· Διονυσιακὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ σινδονοφορεῖν καὶ τὸ μιτροῦσθαι καὶ μυροῦσθαι καὶ βύπτεσθαι ἄνθινα καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας κωδωνοφορεῖσθαι καὶ τυμπανίζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐξόδους· τοὺς δὲ πεδιασίους τὸν Ἡρακλέα τιμᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μυθώδη καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐλεγχόμενα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου· πέραν γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐστὶ πολλὴ καὶ ἡ Μεσοποταμία

<sup>1</sup> ὥς, before ὅτι, omitted by *mz* and the editors.

<sup>2</sup> After *μόνοις* *F* reads *αὐτοῖς*.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. one-eyed.

<sup>2</sup> "People without noses."



Monommati,<sup>1</sup> with dog's ears, with the eye in the middle of the forehead, with hair standing erect, and with shaggy breasts; and that the Amycteres<sup>2</sup> eat everything, including raw meat, and live but a short time, dying before old age; and the upper lip protrudes much more than the lower. Concerning the Hyperboreans who live a thousand years he says the same things as Simonides and Pindar and other myth-tellers. The statement of Timagenes is also a myth, that brass rained from the sky in brazen drops and was swept down.<sup>3</sup> But Megasthenes is nearer the truth when he says that the rivers carry down gold-dust and that part of it is paid as a tax to the king; for this is also the case in Iberia.<sup>4</sup>

58. Speaking of the philosophers, Megasthenes says that those who inhabit the mountains hymn the praises of Dionysus and point out as evidences<sup>5</sup> the wild grape-vine, which grows in their country alone, and the ivy, laurel, myrtle, box-tree, and other evergreens, no one of which is found on the far side of the Euphrates except a few in parks, which can be kept alive only with great care; and that the custom of wearing linen garments, mitres, and gay-coloured garments, and for the king to be attended by gong-carriers and drum-beaters on his departures from the palace, are also Dionysiac; but the philosophers in the plains worship Heracles. Now these statements of Megasthenes are mythical and refuted by many writers, and particularly those about the vine and wine; for much of Armenia, and the whole of Mesopotamia, and the part of Media

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* by rivers.

<sup>4</sup> See 3. 2. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* evidences of his former presence there (see 11. 5. 5).

ὅλη καὶ ἡ Μηδία ἐξῆς μέχρι καὶ Περσίδος καὶ Καρμανίας· τούτων δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκάστου πολὺ μέρος εὐάμπελον καὶ εὖοινον λέγεται.

59. Ἄλλην δὲ διαίρεσιν ποιεῖται περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, δύο γένη φάσκων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Βραχμᾶνας εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον,<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον γὰρ καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν· ἤδη δ' εὐθύς καὶ κυομένους ἔχειν ἐπιμελητάς, λογίους ἄνδρας, οὓς προσιόντας λόγῳ<sup>2</sup> μὲν ἐπάδειν δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν κυόμενον εἰς εὐτεκνίαν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς σωφρονικὰς τινὰς παραινέσεις καὶ ὑποθήκας δίδοναι· τὰς δ' ἡδιστα ἀκρωμένας μάλιστα εὐτέκνους εἶναι νομίζεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν γένεσιν ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, αἰὲ τῆς μείζονος ἡλικίας χαριεστέρων τυγχανούσης διδασκάλων· διατρίβειν δὲ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν ἄλσει πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ περιβόλῳ συμμέτρῳ, λιτῶς ζῶντας ἐν στιβάσι καὶ δοραῖς, ἀπεχομένους ἐμψύχων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, ἀκρωμένους λόγων σπουδαίων, μεταδιδόντας καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι· τὸν δ' ἀκρωόμενον οὔτε λαλῆσαι θέμις οὔτε χρέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πτύσαι· ἢ ἐκβάλλεσθαι τῆς συνουσίας τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ὡς ἀκολασταίνοντα· ἔτη δ' ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα οὕτως ζήσαντα ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κτῆσιν ἑκαστον, καὶ ζῆν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως μᾶλλον,

<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον, Corais and later editors insert.

<sup>2</sup> λόγῳ, Tyrwhitt and later editors, for λόγων CDFh, λόγον other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Brahmans.

<sup>2</sup> Sramans.

next thereafter, extending as far as Persis and Carmania, are on the far side of the Euphrates; and a large part of the country of each of these tribes is said to have good vines and good wine.

59. Megasthenes makes another division in his discussion of the philosophers, asserting that there are two kinds of them, one kind called Brachmanes <sup>1</sup> and the other Garmanes; <sup>2</sup> that the Brachmanes, however, enjoy fairer repute, for they are more in agreement in their dogmas; and that from conception, while in the womb, the children are under the care of learned men, who are reputed to go to the mother and the unborn child, and, ostensibly, to enchant them to a happy birth, but in truth to give prudent suggestions and advice; and that the women who hear them with the greatest pleasure are believed to be the most fortunate in their offspring; and that after the birth of children different persons, one after another, succeed to the care of them, the children always getting more accomplished teachers as they advance in years; and that the philosophers tarry in a grove in front of the city in an enclosure merely commensurate with their needs, leading a frugal life, lying on straw mattresses and skins, abstaining from animal food and the delights of love, and hearkening only to earnest words, and communicating also with anyone who wishes to hear them; and that the hearer is forbidden either to talk or to cough or even to spit; and if he does, he is banished from association with them for that day as a man who has no control over himself; and that, after having lived in this way for thirty-seven years, they retire, each man to his own possessions, where they live more freely and under less restraint,

σινδονοφοροῦντα καὶ χρυσοφοροῦντα μετρίως ἐν τοῖς ὥσὶ καὶ ταῖς χερσί, προσφερόμενον σάρκας τῶν μὴ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν συνεργῶν ζώων, δριμέων καὶ ἀρτυτῶν ἀπεχόμενον· γαμῆν δ' ὅτι πλείστας εἰς πολυτεκνίαν, ἐκ πολλῶν γὰρ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα πλείω γίνεσθαι ἂν· ἀδουλοῦσί τε τὴν ἐκ τέκνων ὑπηρεσίαν, ἐγγυτάτω οὖσαν, πλείω δεῖν παρασκευάζεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς μὴ συμφιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας· εἰ μὲν μοχθηραὶ γένοιτο, ἵνα μὴ τι τῶν οὐ θεμιτῶν ἐκφέροιεν εἰς τοὺς βεβήλους· εἰ δὲ σπουδαῖαι, μὴ καταλείποιεν αὐτοὺς· οὐδένα γὰρ ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καταφρονοῦντα, ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, ἐθέλειν ὑφ' ἐτέρῳ εἶναι· τοιοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν σπουδαῖον C 713 καὶ τὴν σπουδαίαν. πλείστους δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι λόγους περὶ τοῦ θανάτου· νομίζειν γὰρ δὴ τὸν μὲν ἐνθάδε βίον ὡς ἂν ἀκμὴν κυομένων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θάνατον γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ὄντως βίον καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα τοῖς φιλοσοφήσασιν· διὸ τῇ ἀσκήσει πλείστη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐτοιμοθάνατον· ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἢ κακὸν μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἀνθρώποις, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἄχθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χαίρειν, ἐνυπνιώδεις ὑπολήψεις ἔχοντας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοτὲ μὲν ἄχθεσθαι. τοτὲ δ' αὖ χαίρειν μεταβαλλομένους τὰ δὲ περὶ φύσιν, τὰ μὲν εὐήθειαν ἐμφαίνειν

<sup>1</sup> The words ἂν . . . παρασκευάζεσθαι are omitted by most; the other MSS. read ἀναδουλοῦσί τε τὴν ἐκ τέκνων μὴ ἔχουσι δούλους ὑπηρεσίαν (μὴ ἔχουσι δούλους obviously being a gloss). The above reading is that of Kramer and later editors.

<sup>1</sup> Tozer (*Selections*, note *ad loc.*) interprets τὰ σπουδαῖα to mean the number of "their comforts."

wearing linen garments, ornaments of gold in moderation in their ears and on their hands, and partake of meats of animals that are of no help to man in his work, but abstain from pungent and seasoned food; and that they marry as many wives as possible, in order to have numerous children, for from many wives the number of earnest children<sup>1</sup> would be greater; and, since they have no servants, it is necessary for them to provide for more service from children—the service that is nearest at hand; but that the Brachmanes do not share their philosophy with their wedded wives, for fear, in the first place, that they might tell some forbidden secret to the profane if they became corrupt, and, secondly, that they might desert them if they became earnest, for no person who has contempt for pleasure and toil, and likewise for life and death, is willing to be subject to another; and that the earnest man and the earnest woman are such persons; and that they converse more about death than anything else, for they believe that the life here is, as it were, that of a babe still in the womb, and that death, to those who have devoted themselves to philosophy, is birth into the true life, that is, the happy life; and that they therefore discipline themselves most of all to be ready for death; and that they believe that nothing that happens to mankind is good or bad, for otherwise some would not be grieved and others delighted by the same things, both having dream-like notions, and that the same persons cannot at one time be grieved and then in turn change and be delighted by the same things. As for the opinions of the Brachmanes about the natural world, Megasthenes says that some of their opinions indicate mental

φησίν, ἐν ἔργοις γὰρ αὐτοὺς κρείττους ἢ λόγοις εἶναι, διὰ μύθων τὰ πολλὰ πιστουμένους· περὶ πολλῶν δὲ τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὁμοδοξεῖν· ὅτι γὰρ γενητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτός, λέγειν καὶ κείνους, καὶ ὅτι σφαιροειδής, ὃ τε διοικῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιῶν θεὸς δι' ὅλου διαπεφοίτηκεν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ· ἀρχαὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν συμπάντων ἕτεραι, τῆς δὲ κοσμοποιίας τὸ ὕδωρ· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τέτταρσι στοιχείοις πέμπτη τίς ἐστι φύσις, ἐξ ἧς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἄστρα· γῆ δ' ἐν μέσῳ ἵδρυται τοῦ παντός. καὶ περὶ σπέρματος δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς ὁμοία λέγεται καὶ ἄλλα πλείω· παραπλέκουσι δὲ καὶ μύθους, ὥσπερ καὶ Πλάτων περὶ τε ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἄδου κρίσεων καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. περὶ μὲν τῶν Βραχμάνων ταῦτα λέγει.

60. Τοὺς δὲ Γαρμᾶνας,<sup>2</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους Ἑλlobίους φησὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ζῶντας ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις ἀπὸ φύλλων καὶ καρπῶν ἀγρίων, ἐσθῆτος<sup>3</sup> φλοιῶν δενδρείων, ἀφροδισίων χωρὶς καὶ οἴνου· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι συνεῖναι, δι' ἀγγέλων πυνθανομένοις περὶ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ δι' ἐκείνων θεραπεύουσι καὶ λιτανεύουσι τὸ θεῖον· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἑλlobίους δευτερεύειν κατὰ τιμὴν τοὺς ἰατρικοὺς

<sup>1</sup> διαπεφύτηκεν F.

<sup>2</sup> Γαρμᾶνας F, Γερμᾶνας other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἐσθῆτος δ' ἔχειν ἀπό μοι, Tzschucke and Corais; Kramer thinks that οὐσης has fallen out of the MSS. after ἐσθῆτος; Meineke conj. ἐσθητοὺς φλοιῶ δενδρείῳ.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. therefore, not everlasting (see Aristotle, *Cael.* 1. 11).

<sup>2</sup> See 1. 1. 20 and footnote.

<sup>3</sup> Brahma.

simplicity, for the Brachmanes are better in deeds than in words, since they confirm most of their beliefs through the use of myths; and that they are of the same opinion as the Greeks about many things; for example, their opinion that the universe was created <sup>1</sup> and is destructible, as also the Greeks assert, and that it is spherical in shape,<sup>2</sup> and that the god <sup>3</sup> who made it and regulates it pervades the whole of it; and that the primal elements of all things else are different, but that water was the primal element of all creation; and that, in addition to the four elements, there is a fifth natural element of which the heavens and the heavenly bodies are composed; and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. And writers mention similar opinions of the Brachmanes about the seed <sup>4</sup> and the soul, as also several other opinions of theirs. And they also weave in myths, like Plato, about the immortality of the soul and the judgments in Hades and other things of this kind. So much for his account of the Brachmanes.

60. As for the Garmanes, he says that the most honourable of them are named Hylobii <sup>5</sup> and that they live in forests, subsisting on leaves and wild fruits, clothed with the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and the delights of love; and that they communicate with the kings, who through messengers inquire about the causes of things and through the Hylobii worship and supplicate the Divinity; and that, after the Hylobii, the physicians are second in

<sup>4</sup> "They supposed the Creator to have dropped into the water a seed, from which the world-egg sprang" (Tozer, p. 327, quoting Larsen).

<sup>5</sup> Forest-dwellers (in 16. 2. 39 called Gymno-sophists).

καὶ ὡς περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον φιλοσόφους, λιτοὺς  
 μέν, μὴ ἀγραύλους<sup>1</sup> δέ, ὀρύζην καὶ ἀλφίτοις τρεφο-  
 μένους, ἃ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὸν αἰτηθέντα  
 καὶ ὑποδεξάμενον ξενία· δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ πολυ-  
 γόνους ποιεῖν καὶ ἀρρενογόνους καὶ θηλυγόνους  
 διὰ φαρμακευτικῆς· τὴν δὲ ἰατρούειαν διὰ σιτίων  
 τὸ πλεόν, οὐ διὰ φαρμάκων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· τῶν  
 φαρμάκων δὲ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμεῖν τὰ ἐπίχριστα  
 καὶ τὰ καταπλάσματα, τὰλλα δὲ κακουργίας  
 πολὺ μετέχειν· ἀσκεῖν δὲ καὶ τούτους κἀκείνους  
 καρτερίαν, τὴν τε ἐν πόνοις καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς  
 ἐπιμοναῖς, ὥστ' ἐφ' ἐνὸς σχήματος ἀκίνητον  
 διατελέσαι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην· ἄλλους δ' εἶναι  
 τοὺς μὲν μαντικούς καὶ ἐπωδούς καὶ τῶν περὶ  
 C 714 τοὺς κατοικομένους λόγων καὶ νομίμων ἐμπείρους,  
 ἐπαιτοῦντας καὶ κατὰ κώμας καὶ πόλεις, τοὺς  
 δὲ χαριεστέρους μὲν τούτων καὶ ἀστειοτέρους,  
 οὐδ' αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπεχομένους τῶν καθ' ἄδην<sup>2</sup>  
 θρυλουμένων, ὅσα δοκεῖ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ  
 ὁσιότητα·<sup>3</sup> συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' ἐνίοις καὶ γυναῖκας,  
 ἀπεχομένας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀφροδισίων.

61. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Ταξίλοις σοφι-  
 στῶν ἰδεῖν δύο φησί, Βραχμᾶνας ἀμφοτέρους, τὸν  
 μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἐξυρημένον, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον  
 κομήτην, ἀμφοτέροις δ' ἀκολουθεῖν μαθητάς· τὸν  
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλον χρόνον κατ' ἀγορὰν διατρίβειν,  
 τιμωμένους ἀντὶ συμβούλων, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντας, ὅ  
 τι βούλονται τῶν ὠνίων, φέρεσθαι δωρεάν· ὅτῳ δ'

<sup>1</sup> ἀγραύλους E, ὑγραύλους other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἄδου μοz.

<sup>3</sup> After ὁσιότητά Corais inserts τέλειν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 61, 63 (below).



honour, and that they are, as it were, humanitarian philosophers, men who are of frugal habits but do not live out of doors, and subsist upon rice and barley-groats, which are given to them by everyone of whom they beg or who offers them hospitality; and that through sorcery they can cause people to have numerous offspring, and to have either male or female children; and that they cure diseases mostly through means of cereals, and not through means of medicaments; and that, among their medicaments, their ointments and their poultices are most esteemed, but that the rest of their remedies have much in them that is bad; and that both this class and the other practise such endurance, both in toils and in perseverance, that they stay in one posture all day long without moving;<sup>1</sup> and that there are also diviners and enchanters, who are skilled both in the rites and in the customs pertaining to the deceased, and go about begging alms from village to village and from city to city; and that there are others more accomplished and refined than these, but that even these themselves do not abstain from the common talk about Hades, insofar as it is thought to be conducive to piety and holiness; and that women, as well as men, study philosophy with some of them, and that the women likewise abstain from the delights of love.

61. Aristobulus says that he saw two of the sophists at Taxila, both Brachmanes; and that the elder had had his head shaved but that the younger had long hair, and that both were followed by disciples; and that when not otherwise engaged they spent their time in the market-place, being honoured as counsellors and being authorized to take as a gift any merchandise they wished; and

ἀν προσίωσι, καταχεῖν αὐτῶν τοῦ σησαμίνου λί-  
πους, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ρεῖν· τοῦ τε  
μέλιτος πολλοῦ προκειμένου καὶ τοῦ σησάμου,  
μάζας ποιουμένους τρέφεσθαι δωρεάν· παρερχο-  
μένους δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τράπεζαν,  
παραστάντας δειπνεῖν καὶ <sup>1</sup> καρτερίαν διδάσκειν,  
παραχωροῦντας εἰς τινα τόπον πλησίον, ὅπου  
τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον, πεσόντα ὑπτιον, ἀνέχεσθαι  
τῶν ἡλίων καὶ τῶν ὄμβρων (ἤδη γὰρ ὕειν, ἀρχο-  
μένου τοῦ ἔαρος), τὸν δ' ἐστάναι μονοσκελῇ,  
ξύλον ἐπηρμένον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ὅσον  
τρίπηχυ, κύμνοντος δὲ τοῦ σκέλους, ἐπὶ θάτερον  
μεταφέρειν τὴν βάσιν καὶ διατελεῖν οὕτως τὴν  
ἡμέραν ὅλην· φανῆναι δ' ἐγκρατέστερον μακρῶ  
τὸν νεώτερον· συνακολουθήσαντα γὰρ μικρὰ τῷ  
βασιλεῖ ταχὺ ἀναστρέψαι πάλιν ἐπ' οἶκου, μετ-  
ιόντος τε, αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι ἦκειν, εἴ του βούλεται  
τυγχάνειν· τὸν δὲ συναπαῖραι μέχρι τέλους καὶ  
μεταμφιάσασθαι καὶ μεταθέσθαι τὴν δίαιταν,  
συνόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἐπιτιμώμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τινων  
λέγειν, ὡς ἐκπληρώσειε τὰ τετταράκοντα ἔτη τῆς  
ἀσκήσεως, ἃ ὑπέσχετο. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τοῖς  
παισὶν αὐτοῦ δοῦναι δωρεάν.

62. Τῶν δ' ἐν Ταξίλοις νομίμων καινὰ καὶ ἀήθη  
λέγει· τό τε τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους ἐκδιδόναι τὰς  
παῖδας ὑπὸ πενίας προάγειν εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐν ἀκμῇ  
τῆς ὥρας, κόχλω <sup>2</sup> τε καὶ τυμπάνοις (οἷσπερ καὶ  
τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαίνουσιν), ὄχλου προσκληθέντος,  
τῷ δὲ προσελθόντι τὰ ὀπίσθια πρῶτον ἀνασύ-

<sup>1</sup> καί, Corais and later editors insert.

<sup>2</sup> κόχλω CFx, ὄχλω other MSS.

that anyone whom they accosted poured over them sesame oil, in such profusion that it flowed down over their eyes; and that since quantities of honey and sesame were put out for sale, they made cakes of it and subsisted free of charge; and that they came up to the table of Alexander, ate dinner standing, and taught him a lesson in endurance by retiring to a place near by, where the elder fell to the ground on his back and endured the sun's rays and the rains (for it was now raining, since the spring of the year had begun); and that the younger stood on one leg holding aloft in both hands a log about three cubits in length, and when one leg tired he changed the support to the other and kept this up all day long; and that the younger showed a far greater self-mastery than the elder; for although the younger followed the king a short distance, he soon turned back again towards home, and when the king went after him, the man bade him to come himself if he wanted anything of him; but that the elder accompanied the king to the end, and when he was with him changed his dress and mode of life; and that he said, when reproached by some, that he had completed the forty years of discipline which he had promised to observe; and that Alexander gave his children a present.

62. Aristobulus mentions some novel and unusual customs at Taxila: those who by reason of poverty are unable to marry off their daughters, lead them forth to the market-place in the flower of their age to the sound of both trumpets and drums (precisely the instruments used to signal the call to battle), thus assembling a crowd; and to any man who comes forward they first expose her rear parts up

ρεσθαι μέχρι τῶν ὤμων, εἴτα τὰ πρόσθεν, ἀρέσαν  
 δὲ καὶ συμπεισθεῖσαν, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν δοκῇ,  
 συνοικεῖν· καὶ τὸ γυνὴ ρίπτεσθαι τὸν τετελευτη-  
 κῶτα· τὸ δὲ πλείους ἔχειν γυναῖκας κοινὸν καὶ  
 ἄλλων. παρὰ τισι δ' ἀκούειν φησὶ καὶ συγκατα-  
 καιομένας τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄσμένας,  
 τὰς δὲ μὴ ὑπομενούσας ἀδοξεῖν· εἴρηται καὶ ἄλλοις  
 ταῦτα.

63. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ πεμφθῆναί φησιν αὐτὸς  
 C 715 διαλεξόμενος τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις· ἀκούειν γὰρ  
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς γυμνοὶ διατελοῖεν καὶ καρ-  
 τερίας ἐπιμελοῖντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐν τιμῇ τε  
 ἄγοιντο πλείστη, παρ' ἄλλους δὲ μὴ βαδίζοιεν  
 κληθέντες, ἀλλὰ κελεύοιεν ἐκείνους φοιτᾶν παρ'  
 αὐτούς, εἴ του μετασχεῖν ἐθέλοιεν τῶν πραττο-  
 μένων ἢ λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν· τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων,  
 ἐπειδὴ οὔτε αὐτῷ πρέπειν ἐδόκει παρ' ἐκείνους  
 φοιτᾶν οὔτε ἐκείνους βιάζεσθαι παρὰ τὰ πάτρια  
 ποιεῖν τι ἄκοντας, αὐτὸς ἔφη πεμφθῆναι· κατα-  
 λαβεῖν δὲ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκο-  
 σι<sup>1</sup> τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλον ἐν ἄλλῳ σχήματι ἐστῶτα ἢ  
 καθήμενον ἢ κείμενον γυμνόν, ἀκίνητον ἕως ἐσπέ-  
 ρας, εἴτ' ἀπερχόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν· χαλεπώ-  
 τατον δ' εἶναι τὸ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπομεῖναι οὔτῳ  
 θερμόν, ὥστε τῶν ἄλλων μηδένα ὑπομένειν  
 γυμνοῖς ἐπιβῆναι τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς γῆς ῥαδίως κατὰ  
 μεσημβρίαν.

64. Διαλεχθῆναι δ' ἐνὶ τούτων Καλάνῳ, ὃν καὶ  
 συνακολουθήσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι Περσίδος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὀκτώ F.

<sup>1</sup> See § 59 (above).

to the shoulders and then her front parts, and if she pleases him, and at the same time allows herself to be persuaded, on approved terms, he marries her; and the dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures; and to have several wives is a custom common also to others.<sup>1</sup> And he further says that he heard that among certain tribes wives were glad to be burned up along with their deceased husbands, and that those who would not submit to it were held in disgrace; and this custom is also mentioned by other writers.<sup>2</sup>

63. Onesicritus says that he himself was sent to converse with these sophists; for Alexander had heard that the people always went naked and devoted themselves to endurance, and that they were held in very great honour, and that they did not visit other people when invited, but bade them to visit them if they wished to participate in anything they did or said; and that therefore, such being the case, since to Alexander it did not seem fitting either to visit them or to force them against their will to do anything contrary to their ancestral customs, he himself was sent; and that he found fifteen men at a distance of twenty stadia from the city, who were in different postures, standing or sitting or lying naked and motionless till evening, and that they then returned to the city; and that it was very hard to endure the sun, which was so hot that at midday no one else could easily endure walking on the ground with bare feet.

64. Onesicritus says that he conversed with one of these sophists, Calanus, who accompanied the king as far as Persis and died in accordance with the

<sup>2</sup> See § 30 (above); and cf. Diodorus Siculus 19. 23.

ἀποθανεῖν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, τεθέντα ἐπὶ πυρκαϊάν· τότε δ' ἐπὶ λίθων τυχεῖν κείμενον· προσιών οὖν καὶ προσαγορεύσας εἰπεῖν ἔφη, διότι πεμφθείη παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκροασόμενος τῆς σοφίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπαγγελῶν πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰ οὖν μηδεὶς εἴη φθόνος, ἕτοιμος εἴη μετασχεῖν τῆς ἀκροάσεως· ἰδόντα δ' ἐκείνον χλαμύδα καὶ καυσίαν φοροῦντα καὶ κρηπίδα, καταγελάσαντα, Τὸ παλαιόν, φάναι, πάντ' ἦν ἀλφίτων καὶ ἀλεύρων πλήρη, καθάπερ νῦν κόνεως· καὶ κρῆναι δ' ἔρρεον, αἱ μὲν ὕδατος, γάλακτος δ' ἄλλαι, καὶ ὁμοίως μέλιτος, αἱ δ' οἶνον, τινὲς δ' ἐλαίου· ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τρυφῆς εἰς ὕβριν ἐξέπεσον. Ζεὺς δὲ μισήσας τὴν κατάστασιν ἠφάνισε πάντα καὶ διὰ πόνου τὸν βίον ἀπέδειξε. σωφροσύνης δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς παρελθούσης εἰς μέσον, πάλιν εὐπορία τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑπῆρξεν. ἐγγὺς δ' ἐστὶν ἤδη νυνὶ κόρου καὶ ὕβρεως τὸ πρᾶγμα, κινδυνεύει τε ἀφανισμὸς τῶν ὄντων γενέσθαι. ταῦτα εἰπόντα κελεύειν, εἰ βούλοιτο ἀκροάσασθαι, καταθέμενον τὴν σκευὴν γυμνὸν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λίθων κείμενον, μετέχειν τῶν λόγων, ἀπορουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, Μάνδανιν,<sup>1</sup> ὅσπερ ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος αὐτῶν, τὸν μὲν ἐπιπλῆξαι ὡς ὕβριστήν, καὶ ταῦτα ὕβρεως κατηγορήσαντα, αὐτὸν δὲ προσκαλέσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ἐπαινοίη, διότι ἀρχήν

<sup>1</sup> Instead of Μάνδανιν E reads κάνδανις; and the name given by Arrian (*Exp.* 7. 2. 2) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 8. 65) is Δάνδαμις; but in Strabo the MSS. again read Μάνδανιν in § 68 (below).

<sup>1</sup> See end of this paragraph.

ancestral custom, being placed upon a pyre and burned up.<sup>1</sup> He says that Calanus happened to be lying on stones when he first saw him; that he therefore approached him and greeted him; and told him that he had been sent by the king to learn the wisdom of the sophists and report it to him, and that if there was no objection he was ready to hear his teachings; and that when Calanus saw the mantle and broad-brimmed hat and boots he wore, he laughed at him and said: "In olden times the world was full of barley-meal and wheaten-meal, as now of dust; and fountains then flowed, some with water, others with milk and likewise with honey, and others with wine, and some with olive oil; but, by reason of his gluttony and luxury, man fell into arrogance beyond bounds. But Zeus, hating this state of things, destroyed everything and appointed for man a life of toil. And when self-control and the other virtues in general reappeared, there came again an abundance of blessings. But the condition of man is already close to satiety and arrogance, and there is danger of destruction of everything in existence." And Onesicritus adds that Calanus, after saying this, bade him, if he wished to learn, to take off his clothes, to lie down naked on the same stones, and thus to hear his teachings; and that while he was hesitating what to do, Mandanis,<sup>2</sup> who was the oldest and wisest of the sophists, rebuked Calanus as a man of arrogance, and that too after censuring arrogance himself; and that Mandanis called him<sup>3</sup> and said that he commended the king because, although busied with the government of so great an

<sup>1</sup> By Arrian, *Alexander*, 7. 2., and Plutarch, *Alexander* 8. 65, called "Dandamis."

<sup>2</sup> Onesicritus.

τοσαύτην διοικῶν ἐπιθυμοίη σοφίας· μόνον γὰρ ἴδοι αὐτὸν ἐν ὅπλοις φιλοσοφοῦντα· ὠφελιμώτατον δ' εἶη τῶν ἀπάντων, εἰ οἱ τοιοῦτοι φρονοῖεν, οἷς πάρεστι δύναμις τοὺς μὲν ἐκουσίους πείθειν σωφρονεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀκουσίους ἀναγκάζειν· αὐτῷ δὲ συγγνώμη εἶη, εἰ δι' ἐρμηνέων τριῶν διαλεγόμενος, πλὴν φωνῆς μηδὲν συνιέντων πλέον ἢ οἱ πολλοί, μηδὲν ἰσχύσει τῆς ὠφελείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι· ὅμοιον γάρ, ὡς ἂν εἰ διὰ βορβόρου καθαρὸν ἀξιοῖ τις ὕδωρ ρεῖν.

65. Τὰ γοῦν λεχθέντα εἰς τοῦτ' ἔφη συντείνειν, ὡς εἶη λόγος ἄριστος, ὃς ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην ψυχῆς ἀφαιρήσεται· καὶ ὅτι λύπη καὶ πόνος διαφέρει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιον, τὸ δὲ φίλιον<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς, τά γε σώματα ἀσκοῦσι πρὸς πόνον, ἵν' αἱ γινῶμαι ῥωννύοιντο, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ στάσεις παύοιεν καὶ σύμβουλοι πᾶσιν ἀγαθῶν παρεῖεν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ταξίλη<sup>2</sup> νῦν συμβουλευσεί<sup>3</sup> δέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· κρείττω μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ δεξιόμενον εὖ πείσεσθαι, χεῖρω δὲ εὖ διαθήσειν. ταῦτ' εἰπόντα ἐξερέσθαι, εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι λόγοι τοιοῦτοι λέγοντο· εἰπόντος δ', ὅτι καὶ Πυθαγόρας τοιαῦτα λέγοι,<sup>4</sup> κελεύοι<sup>5</sup> τε ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Διογένης, οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκροάσαιο, ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι τᾶλλα μὲν νομίζοι φρονίμως αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν, ἐν δ' ἁμαρτάνειν, νόμον πρὸ τῆς φύσεως τιθεμένους·

<sup>1</sup> φίλιον E, φίλον other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ταξίλη E, τάξει ἢ other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> συμβασιλεύσαιεν Dh.

<sup>4</sup> λέγοι DFh, λέγει other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> κελεύοι DFh, κελεύει other MSS.



empire, he was desirous of wisdom ; for the king was the only philosopher in arms that he ever saw, and that it was the most useful thing in the world if those men were wise who have the power of persuading the willing, and forcing the unwilling, to learn self-control ; but that he might be pardoned if, conversing through three interpreters, who, with the exception of language, knew no more than the masses, he should be unable to set forth anything in his philosophy that would be useful ; for that, he added, would be like expecting water to flow pure through mud !

65. At all events, all he said, according to Onesicritus, tended to this, that the best teaching is that which removes pleasure and pain from the soul ; and that pain and toil differ, for the former is inimical to man and the latter friendly, since man trains the body for toil in order that his opinions may be strengthened, whereby he may put a stop to dissensions and be ready to give good advice to all, both in public and in private ; and that, furthermore, he had now advised Taxiles to receive Alexander, for if he received a man better than himself he would be well treated, but if inferior, he would improve him. Onesicritus says that, after saying this, Mandanis inquired whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks ; and that when he answered that Pythagoras taught such doctrines, and also bade people to abstain from meat, as did also Socrates and Diogenes, and that he himself had been a pupil of Diogenes, Mandanis replied that he regarded the Greeks as sound-minded in general, but that they were wrong in one respect, in that they preferred custom to nature ; for otherwise, Mandanis said,

οὐ γὰρ ἂν<sup>1</sup> αἰσχύνεσθαι γυμνοὺς, ὥσπερ αὐτόν, διάγειν, ἀπὸ λιτῶν ζῶντας· καὶ γὰρ οἰκίαν ἀρίστην εἶναι, ἣτις ἂν ἐπισκευῆς ἐλαχίστης δέηται· ἔφη δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν περὶ φύσιν πολλὰ ἐξετάσαι καὶ προσημασιῶν, ὄμβρων, αὐχμῶν, νόσων· ἀπιόντας δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς σκεδάννυσθαι· ὅτῳ δ' ἂν κομίζοντι σῦκα ἢ βότρυς παρατύχωσι,<sup>2</sup> λαμβάνειν δωρεὰν παρ' ἔχοντος· εἰ δ' ἔλαιον εἴη, καταχεῖσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἀλείφεσθαι· ἅπασαν δὲ πλουσίαν οἰκίαν ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς μέχρι γυναικωνίτιδος, εἰσιόντας δὲ δεῖπνου κοινωνεῖν καὶ λόγων· αἴσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι νόσον σωματικὴν· τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο, ἐξάγειν ἑαυτὸν διὰ πυρός, νήσαντα πυρὰν, ὑπαλειψάμενον δὲ καὶ καθίσαντα ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ὑφάψαι κελεύειν, ἀκίνητον δὲ καίεσθαι.

66. Νέαρχος δὲ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὕτω λέγει· τοὺς μὲν Βραχμᾶνας πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συμβούλους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν· τούτων δ' εἶναι καὶ Κάλανον· συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναῖκας, τὰς δὲ διαίτας ἰπάντων σκληράς. περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίμων τοιαῦτα ὑποφαίνεται· τοὺς μὲν νόμους ἀγράφους εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν κοινούς, τοὺς δ' ἰδίους, ἀήθειαν ἔχοντας  
C 717 πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων· οἷον τὸ τὰς παρθένους ἄθλον παρά τισι προκείσθαι τῷ πυγμὴν νικῆσαι, ὥστ' ἀπρόϊκους συνεῖναι· παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἂν, Corais and later editors insert.

<sup>2</sup> παρατύχωσι E, περιτύχωσι other MSS.

they would not be ashamed to go naked, like himself, and live on frugal fare; for, he added, the best house is that which requires the least repairs. And Onesicritus goes on to say that they inquire into numerous natural phenomena, including prognostics, rains, droughts, and diseases; and that when they depart for the city they scatter to the different market-places; and whenever they chance upon anyone carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they get fruit from that person as a free offering; but that if it is oil, it is poured down over them and they are anointed with it; and that the whole of a wealthy home is open to them, even to the women's apartments, and that they enter and share in meals and conversation; and that they regard disease of the body as a most disgraceful thing; and that he who suspects disease in his own body commits suicide through means of fire, piling a funeral pyre; and that he anoints himself, sits down on the pyre, orders it to be lighted, and burns without a motion.

66. Nearchus speaks of the sophists as follows: That the Brachmanes engage in affairs of state and attend the kings as counsellors; but that the other sophists investigate natural phenomena; and that Calanus is one of these; and that their wives join them in the study of philosophy; and that the modes of life of all are severe. As for the customs of the rest of the Indians, he declares as follows: That their laws, some public and some private, are unwritten, and that they contain customs that are strange as compared with those of the other tribes; for example, among some tribes the virgins are set before all as a prize for the man who wins the victory in a fist-fight, so that they marry the victor without dowry; and

κατὰ συγγένειαν κοινῇ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐργασα-  
μένους, ἐπὰν συγκομίσωσιν, αἵρεσθαι φορτίον  
ἕκαστον εἰς διατροφήν τοῦ ἔτους, τὸν δ' ἄλλον  
ἐμπιπράναι τοῦ ἔχειν εἰσαυθις ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ  
μὴ ἄργον εἶναι. ὀπλισμὸν δ' εἶναι τόξον καὶ  
ὀϊστοὺς τριπήχεις, ἣ σαύνιον, καὶ πέλτην καὶ  
μάχαιραν πλατεῖαν τρίπηχυν· ἀντὶ δὲ χαλινῶν  
φιμοῖς χρῆσθαι κημῶν μικρὸν διαφέρουσιν· ἥλοις  
δὲ τὰ χεῖλη διαπεπάρθαι.

67. Τὴν δὲ φιλοτεχνίαν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐμφανίζων  
σπύγγους φησὶν ἰδόντας παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι  
μιμήσασθαι, τρίχας καὶ σχοινία λεπτὰ καὶ  
ἄρπεδάνους διαρράψαντας εἰς ἔρια, καὶ μετὰ τὸ  
πιλῆσαι <sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν ἐξελκύσαντας, τὰ δὲ βύψαντας  
χροιαῖς· στλεγγιδοποιοὺς τε καὶ ληκυθοποιοὺς  
ταχὺ γενέσθαι πολλοὺς· ἐπιστολὰς δὲ γράφειν  
ἐν σινδόσι λίαν κεκροτημέναις, τῶν ἄλλων γράμ-  
μασιν αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι φαμένων· χαλκῷ δὲ  
χρῆσθαι χυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἐλατῷ μή· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν  
οὐκ εἶπε, καίτοι τὴν ἀτοπίαν εἰπὼν τὴν παρα-  
κολουθοῦσαν, ὅτι θραύεται κεράμου δίκην τὰ  
σκεύη πεσόντα. τῶν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς λεγο-  
μένων καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν  
προσεύχεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν  
ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ὑπεροχῇ νόμος. φέρει δὲ καὶ λιθίαν <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πιλῆσαι, Casaubon and the later editors, for πλῆσαι.

<sup>2</sup> λιθείαν *hoxz* and Meineke.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the horses are controlled by the nose with a halter-like contrivance rather than by the mouth with bridles.

among other tribes different groups cultivate the crops in common on the basis of kinship, and, when they collect the produce, they each carry off a load sufficient for sustenance during the year, but burn the remainder in order to have work to do thereafter and not be idle. Their weapons, he says, consist of bow and arrows, the latter three cubits long, or a javelin, and a small shield and a broad sword three cubits long; and instead of bridles they use nose-bands, which differ but slightly from a muzzle;<sup>1</sup> and the lips of their horses have holes pierced through them by spikes.<sup>2</sup>

67. Nearchus, in explaining the skill of the Indians in handiwork, says that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians they made imitations by sewing tufts of wool through and through with hairs and light cords and threads, and that after compressing them into felt they drew out the inserts and dyed the sponge-like felt with colours; and that makers of strigils and of oil-flasks quickly arose in great numbers; and that they write missives on linen cloth that is very closely woven, though the other writers say that they make no use of written characters; and that they use brass that is cast, and not the kind that is forged; and he does not state the reason, although he mentions the strange result that follows the use of the vessels made of cast brass, that when they fall to the ground they break into pieces like pottery. Among the statements made concerning India is also the following, that it is the custom, instead of making obeisance, to offer prayers to the kings and to all who are in authority and of superior rank. The

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* spikes, or raised points, inside the nose-bands.

ἡ χώρα πολυτελῇ κρυστάλλων καὶ ἀνθράκων παντοίων, καθάπερ τῶν μαργαριτῶν.

68. Τῆς δ' ἀνομολογίας τῶν συγγραφέων ἔστω παράδειγμα καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ Καλάνου λόγος· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ συνήλθεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκὼν παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ πυρός, ὁμολογοῦσι· τὸν δὲ τρόπον οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν φασιν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οὕτως εἰρήκασιν· συιακολουθηῖσαι γὰρ ὡς ἐγκωμιαστὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξω τῶν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ὄρων παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφων· ἐκείνους γὰρ τοῖς αὐτόθι συνεῖναι βασιλεῦσιν, ὑφηγουμένους τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς τοὺς μάγους τοῖς Πέρσαις· ἐν Πασαργάδαις δὲ νοσήσαντα, τότε πρῶτον αὐτῷ νόσου γενομένης, ἐξαγαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ἄνοντα ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν καὶ τρίτον, μὴ προσέχοντα ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως δεήσεσιν· γενομένης δὲ πυρᾶς καὶ τεθείσης ἐπ' αὐτῆς χρυσῆς κλίνης, κατακλιθέντα εἰς αὐτήν, ἐγκαλυψάμενον ἐμπρησθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ξύλινον οἶκον γενέσθαι, φυλλάδος δ' ἐμπλησθέντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς στέγης πυρᾶς γενομένης, ἐγκλεισθέντα ὥσπερ ἐκέλευσε, μετὰ τὴν πομπὴν μεθ' ἧς ἦκε,<sup>1</sup>

U 718 ρίψαντα ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἂν δοκὸν συνεμπρησθῆναι τῷ οἴκῳ. Μεγασθένης δ' ἐν τοῖς μὲν φιλοσόφοις οὐκ εἶναι δόγμα φησὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξάγειν· τοὺς δὲ ποιοῦντας τοῦτο νεανικοὺς κρίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν σκληροὺς τῇ φύσει φερομένους ἐπὶ πληγὴν ἢ κρημνόν, τοὺς δ' ἀπόνοους ἐπὶ βυθόν, τοὺς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἦκε F, εἶχε other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. carbuncles, rubies, garnets.

country also produces precious stones, I mean crystals and anthraces of all kinds,<sup>1</sup> as also pearls.

68. As an example of the lack of agreement among the historians, let us compare their accounts of Calanus. They all agree that he went with Alexander and that he voluntarily died by fire in Alexander's presence; but their accounts of the manner in which he was burned up are not the same, and neither do they ascribe his act to the same cause. Some state it thus: that he went along as a eulogiser of the king, going outside the boundaries of India, contrary to the common custom of the philosophers there, for the philosophers attend the kings in India only, guiding them in their relations with the gods, as the Magi attend the Persian kings; but that at Pasargadae he fell ill, the first illness of his life, and despatched himself during his seventy-third year, paying no attention to the entreaties of the king; and that a pyre was made and a golden couch placed on it, and that he laid himself upon it, covered himself up, and was burned to death. But others state it thus: that a wooden house was built, and that it was filled with leaves and that a pyre was built on its roof, and that, being shut in as he had bidden, after the procession which he had accompanied, flung himself upon the pyre and, like a beam of timber, was burned up along with the house. But Megasthenes says that suicide is not a dogma among the philosophers, and that those who commit suicide are adjudged guilty of the impetuosity of youth; that some who are by nature hardy rush to meet a blow or over precipices; whereas others, who shrink from suffering, plunge into deep waters;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* drown themselves.

πολυπόνους ἀπαγχομένους, τοὺς δὲ πυρώδεις εἰς πῦρ ὠθουμένους· οἷος ἦν καὶ ὁ Κάλανος, ἀκόλαστος ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τραπέζαις δεδουλωμένος· τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ψέγεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάνδανιν ἐπαινέισθαι, ὅς τῶν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀγγέλων καλούντων πρὸς τὸν Διὸς υἱὸν πειθομένῳ τε δῶρα ἔσεσθαι ὑπισχνουμένων, ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ κόλασιν, μὴτ' ἐκείνον φαίη Διὸς υἱόν, ὃν γε ἄρχειν μηδὲ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς· μήτε<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ δεῖν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεῶν, ὧν<sup>2</sup> οὐδεὶς κόρος· μήτε δὲ ἀπειλῆς εἶναι φόβον, ᾧ ζῶντι μὲν ἀρκοῦσα εἴη τροφὸς ἡ Ἰνδική, ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἀπαλλάξαιτο τῆς τετρυχωμένης ἀπὸ γήρως σαρκός, μεταστὰς εἰς βελτίῳ καὶ καθαρώτερον βίον· ὥστ' ἐπαινέσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ συγχωρῆσαι.

69. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία Ἴνδοι καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας. ὅταν δὲ βασιλεὺς λούῃ τὴν τρίχα, μεγάλην ἐορτὴν ἄγουσι καὶ μεγάλα δῶρα πέμπουσι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἕκαστος ἐπιδεικνύμενος κατὰ ἁμίλλαν. τῶν τε μυρμήκων τινὰς καὶ πτερωτοὺς λέγουσι τῶν χρυσορύχων· ψήγματά τε χρυσοῦ καταφέρειν τοὺς ποταμούς, καθάπερ τοὺς Ἰβηρικούς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐορτὰς πομπαῖς πολλοὶ μὲν ἐλέφαντες πέμπονται χρυσῷ κεκο-

<sup>1</sup> μήτε, Corais and later editors, for μηδέ.

<sup>2</sup> ὧν, all MSS. except *moz*, which read *φ*. Kramer conj. πόθος for κόρος, citing Arrian 7. 2. 3.



and others, who are much suffering, hang themselves; and others, who have a fiery temperament, fling themselves into fire; and that such was Calanus, a man who was without self-control and a slave to the table of Alexander; and that therefore Calanus is censured, whereas Mandanis is commended; for when Alexander's messengers summoned Mandanis to visit the son of Zeus and promised that he would receive gifts if he obeyed, but punishment if he disobeyed, he replied that, in the first place, Alexander was not the son of Zeus, inasmuch as he was not ruler over even a very small part of the earth, and, secondly, that he had no need of gifts from Alexander, of which there was no satiety,<sup>1</sup> and, thirdly, that he had no fear of threats, since India would supply him with sufficient food while he was alive, and when he died he would be released from the flesh wasted by old age and be translated to a better and purer life; and that the result was that Alexander commended him and acquiesced.

69. The following statements are also made by the historians: that the Indians worship Zeus and the Ganges River and the local deities. And when the king washes his hair, they celebrate a great festival and bring big presents, each man making rivalry in display of his own wealth. And they say that some of the ants that mine gold<sup>2</sup> have wings; and that gold-dust is brought down by the rivers, as by the rivers in Iberia.<sup>3</sup> And in the processions at the time of festivals many elephants are paraded, all adorned

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, "for which he had no longing" (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. §§ 37 and 44 (above).

<sup>3</sup> See 3. 2. 8.

σμημένοι καὶ ἀργύρῳ, πολλὰ δὲ τέθριππα καὶ βοῖκὰ ζεύγη· εἴθ' ἡ στρατιὰ κεκοσμημένη· καὶ χρυσώματα δὲ τῶν μεγάλων λεβήτων καὶ κρατήρων ὀργυιαίων· καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ χαλκοῦ<sup>1</sup> τράπεζαί τε<sup>2</sup> καὶ θρόνοι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ λουτήρες, λιθοκόλλητα τὰ πλείστα σμαράγδοις καὶ βηρύλλοις καὶ ἄνθραξιν Ἰνδικοῖς· καὶ ἐσθῆς δὲ ποικίλῃ χρυσόπαστος, καὶ βόνασοι<sup>3</sup> καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντες τιθασοὶ καὶ τῶν ποικίλων ὀρνέων καὶ εὐφθόγγων πλήθος. ὁ δὲ Κλείταρχος φησιν ἀμάξας τετρακύκλους, δένδρα κομιζούσας τῶν μεγαλοφύλλων, ἐξ ὧν ἀπήρτηται<sup>4</sup> γένη τετιθασευμένων ὀρνέων, ὧν εὐφωνότατον μὲν εἶρηκε τὸν ὠρίωνα, λαμπρότατον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πλείστην ἔχοντα ποικιλίαν τὸν καλούμενον κατρέα.<sup>5</sup> τὴν γὰρ ιδέαν ταῷ μύλιστα ἐγγίζειν. τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν εἰκονογραφίαν παρ' ἐκείνου ληπτέον.

C 719 70. Φιλοσόφους τε τοῖς Βραχμᾶσιν ἀντιδια-  
 ροῦνται Πράμνας, ἐριστικούς τινας καὶ ἐλεγκ-  
 τικούς· τοὺς δὲ Βραχμᾶνας φυσιολογίαν καὶ  
 ἀστρονομίαν ἀσκεῖν, γελωμένους ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὡς  
 ἀλαζόνας καὶ ἀνοήτους. τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν  
 ὀρεινοὺς καλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ γυμνήτας, τοὺς δὲ  
 πολιτικούς καὶ προσχωρίους· τοὺς μὲν ὀρεινοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καί, before τράπεζαι, Corais ejects.

<sup>2</sup> τε, Corais and later editors, for δέ.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ βόνασοι, Meineke; CDEgh have a lacuna of about six letters; *vw* read καὶ . . . ασοι, *i* καὶ ἄρκοι, *x* καὶ θηρία; Tzschucke καὶ θηρία . . . ασοι; Corais καὶ θηρία ἄρκοι; Groskurd καὶ θηρία βόνασοι.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπήρτηται, Schneider (note on Aelian, *An.* 12. 22), for ἀπείρνηται.

with gold and silver, as also many four-horse chariots and ox-teams; and then follows the army, all in military uniform; and then golden vessels consisting of large basins and bowls a fathom in breadth; and tables, high chairs, drinking-cups, and bath-tubs, all of which are made of Indian copper and most of them are set with precious stones—emeralds, beryls, and Indian anthraces;<sup>1</sup> and also variegated garments spangled with gold, and tame bisons,<sup>2</sup> leopards, and lions, and numbers of variegated and sweet-voiced birds. And Cleitarchus speaks of four-wheeled carriages on which large-leaved trees are carried, and of different kinds of tamed birds that cling to these trees, and states that of these birds the orion has the sweetest voice, but that the catreus, as it is called, has the most splendid appearance and the most variegated plumage; for its appearance approaches nearest that of the peacock. But one must get the rest of the description from Cleitarchus.

70. In classifying the philosophers, writers oppose to the Brachmanes the Pramnae, a contentious and disputatious sect; and they say that the Brachmanes study natural philosophy and astronomy, but that they are derided by the Pramnae as quacks and fools; and that, of these, some are called "Mountain" Pramnae, others "Naked" Pramnae, and others "City" Pramnae or "Neighbouring" Pramnae; and that the "Mountain" Pramnae wear deer-

<sup>1</sup> See note on "anthraces," § 68 (above).

<sup>2</sup> Aurochs.

δοραῖς ἐλάφων χρῆσθαι, πῆρας δ' ἔχειν ῥιζῶν καὶ φαρμάκων μεστάς, προσποιουμένους ἰατρικὴν μετὰ γοητείας καὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ περιάπτων. τοὺς δὲ γυμνῆτας κατὰ τοῦνομα γυμνοὺς διαζῆν, ὑπαίθριους τὸ πλεον, καρτερίαν ἀσκούντας, ἣν ἔφαμεν πρότερον, μέχρι ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τριάκοντα, γυναικάς δὲ συνεῖλαι, μὴ μιγνυμένας αὐτοῖς· τούτους δὲ θανμάζεσθαι διαφερόντως.

71. Τοὺς δὲ πολιτικούς σινδονίτας κατὰ πόλιν ζῆν ἢ καὶ κατ' ἀγρούς, καθημένους<sup>2</sup> νεβρίδας ἢ δορκάδων δοράς· ὥς δ' εἰπεῖν, Ἰνδοὺς ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ χρῆσθαι καὶ σινδόσι λευκαῖς καὶ καρπάσοις, ὑπεναντίως τοῖς εἰποῦσιν εὐανθέστατα αὐτοὺς ἀμπέχεσθαι φορήματα· κομᾶν δὲ καὶ πωγωνοτροφεῖν πάντας, ἀναπλεκομένους δὲ μιτροῦσθαι τὰς κόμας.

72. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὸν Γάγγην φησὶν ἐκ τῶν Ἡμωδῶν ὁρῶν καταφερόμενον πρὸς νότον, ἐπειδὰν κατὰ τὴν Γάγγην γένηται πόλιν, ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς ἑὼ μέχρι Παλιβόθρων καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκβολῆς. τῶν δὲ συρρεόντων εἰς αὐτὸν Οἰδάνην<sup>3</sup> τινὰ καλεῖ<sup>4</sup> τρέφειν δὲ καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ δελφίνας. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινά, συγκεχυμένως δὲ καὶ ἀργῶς, ὧν οὐ φροντιστέον. προσθείη δ' ἂν τις τούτοις καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Νικολάου.

73. Φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ παρατυχεῖν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεσιν, ἀφιγ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐτῶν, omitted by all MSS. except E.

<sup>2</sup> καθημένους CDEFhix, καθημένους w, ἐνημμένους mox and Corais.

<sup>3</sup> Οἰδάνην is probably corrupt. Corais conj. Οἰμάνην; Kramer, Ἰομάνην; C. Müller Διοιδάνην or Διαρδάνην.

skins, and carry wallets full of roots and drugs, pretending to cure people with these, along with witchery and enchantments and amulets; and that the "Naked" Pramnae, as their name implies, live naked, for the most part in the open air, practising endurance, as I have said before,<sup>1</sup> for thirty-seven years; and that women associate with them but do not have intercourse with them; and that these philosophers are held in exceptional esteem.

71. They say that the "City" Pramnae wear linen garments and live in the city, or else out in the country, and go clad in the skins of fawns or gazelles; but that, in general, the Indians wear white clothing, white linen or cotton garments, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear highly coloured garments; and that they all wear long hair and long beards, and that they braid their hair and surround it with a head-band.

72. Artemidorus says that the Ganges River flows down from the Emoda mountains towards the south, and that when it arrives at the city Ganges it turns towards the east to Palibothra and its outlet into the sea. And he calls one of its tributaries Oedanes, saying that it breeds both crocodiles and dolphins. And he goes on to mention certain other things, but in such a confused and careless manner that they are not to be considered. But one might add to the accounts here given that of Nicolaüs Damascenus.

73. He says that at Antioch, near Daphnê, he chanced to meet the Indian ambassadors who had

<sup>1</sup> §§ 60 and 61 (above).

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<sup>4</sup> καλεῖ, Casaubon and later editors, for καλεῖν.

μένοις παρὰ Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστόν· οὓς ἐκ  
 μὲν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πλείους δηλοῦσθαι, σωθῆναι  
 δὲ τρεῖς μόνους, οὓς ἰδεῖν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους  
 ὑπὸ μήκους τῶν ὁδῶν διαφθαρῆναι τὸ πλεόν·  
 τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν ἐλληνίζειν ἐν διφθέρα γεγραμ-  
 μένην, δηλοῦσαν, ὅτι Πῶρος εἶη ὁ γράψας,  
 ἑξακοσίων δὲ ἄρχων βασιλέων, ὅμως περὶ πολ-  
 λοῦ ποιοῖτο φίλος εἶναι Καίσαρι, καὶ ἔτοιμος εἶη  
 δίοδόν τε παρέχειν, ὅπη βούλεται, καὶ συμπράτ-  
 τειν, ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει. ταῦτα μὲν ἔφη λέγειν  
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὰ δὲ κομισθέντα δῶρα προσε-  
 νεγκεῖν ὀκτὼ οἰκέτας γυμνοὺς, ἐν περιζώμασι  
 καταπεπασμένους ἀρώμασιν· εἶναι δὲ τὰ δῶρα  
 τὸν τε Ἑρμᾶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἀφηρημένον ἐκ  
 νηπίου τοὺς βραχίονας, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν,  
 καὶ ἐχίδνας μεγάλας καὶ ὄφιν πηχῶν δέκα καὶ  
 χελώνην ποταμίαν τρίπηχυν, πέρδικά τε μείζω  
 γυπὸς. συνῆν δέ, ὥς φησι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ Ἀθήνησι  
 C 720 κατακαύσας ἑαυτόν· ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐπὶ κακοπραγία<sup>2</sup> ζητοῦντας ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν  
 παρόντων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' εὐπραγίᾳ, καθάπερ τοῦ-  
 τον· ἅπαντα γὰρ κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντα μέχρι  
 νῦν ἀπιέναι δεῖν, μή τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων χρονίζοντι  
 συμπέσοι· καὶ δὴ καὶ γελῶντα ἀλέσθαι γυμνὸν  
 ἐπαληλιμμένον<sup>3</sup> ἐν περιζώματι ἐπὶ τὴν πυράν·

<sup>1</sup> φησι, Corais, for φασι.

<sup>2</sup> After κακοπραγία *iv* adds τοὺς δὲ διὰ ἄλλην τινὰ δυστυχίαν.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐπαλειμμένον F, ἐπαλειμμένον other MSS., Meineke writes λιπ' ἀληλιμμένον (cp. λιπ' ἀληλιμμενοι 14. 1. 44).

<sup>1</sup> So called from the fact that Hermes was usually represented as a small god, and sometimes without hands or feet

been despatched to Caesar Augustus; that the letter plainly indicated more than three ambassadors, but that only three had survived (whom he says he saw), but the rest, mostly by reason of the long journeys, had died; and that the letter was written in Greek on a skin; and that it plainly showed that Porus was the writer, and that, although he was ruler of six hundred kings, still he was anxious to be a friend to Caesar, and was ready, not only to allow him a passage through his country, wherever he wished to go, but also to co-operate with him in anything that was honourable. Nicolaüs says that this was the content of the letter to Caesar, and that the gifts carried to Caesar were presented by eight naked servants, who were clad only in loin-cloths besprinkled with sweet-smelling odours; and that the gifts consisted of the Hermes,<sup>1</sup> a man who was born without arms, whom I myself have seen, and large vipers, and a serpent ten cubits in length, and a river tortoise three cubits in length, and a partridge larger than a vulture; and they were accompanied also, according to him, by the man who burned himself up at Athens; and that whereas some commit suicide when they suffer adversity, seeking release from the ills at hand, others do so when their lot is happy, as was the case with that man; for, he adds, although that man had fared as he wished up to that time, he thought it necessary then to depart this life, lest something untoward might happen to him if he tarried here; and that therefore he leaped upon the pyre with a laugh, his naked body anointed, wearing only a loin-cloth; and that the (see Herodotus 2. 51). At Athens any four-cornered pillar ending in a head or bust was called "a Hermes."

ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τῷ τάφῳ· Ζαρμανοχηγὰς<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἰνδὸς ἀπὸ Βαργόσης κατὰ τὰ πάτρια Ἰνδῶν  
 ἔθη ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθανατίσας κεῖται.

## II

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀριανή, μερὶς  
 πρώτη τῆς ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τῆς μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν  
 ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν τῶν ἐκτὸς  
 τοῦ Ταύρου, τὰ μὲν νότια καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικά μέρη  
 τῇ αὐτῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀφορι-  
 ζομένη, οἷσπερ καὶ ἡ Ἰνδική, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ  
 ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, μέσον ἔχουσα αὐτὸν ἑαυτῆς  
 τε καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν  
 ἐκτεινομένη μέχρι τῆς ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν  
 εἰς Καρμανίαν γραφομένης γραμμῆς, ὥστε εἶναι  
 τετράπλευρον τὸ σχῆμα. τὸ μὲν οὖν νότιον  
 πλευρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἄρχεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ  
 καὶ τῆς Παταληνῆς, τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς Καρμανίαν  
 καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου τὸ στόμα, ἅκραν  
 ἔχον ἐκκειμένην ἰκανῶς πρὸς νότον· εἴτα εἰς τὸν  
 κόλπον λαμβάνει καμπὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα.  
 οἰκοῦσι δὲ Ἀρβιες πρῶτον, ὁμώνυμοι τῷ ποταμῷ  
 Ἀρβει τῷ ὀρίζοντι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς Ὀρειτῶν,  
 ὅσον χιλίων σταδίων ἔχοντες παραλίαν, ὥς φησι  
 Νέαρχος· Ἰνδῶν δ' ἐστὶ μερὶς καὶ αὕτη. εἴτ'  
 Ὀρεῖται ἔθνος αὐτόνομον· τούτων δ' ὁ παράπλους  
 χιλίων ὀκτακοσίων, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς Ἰχθυοφάγων

<sup>1</sup> Ζαρμανοχάνης x, Zármanos χήγαν w and Corais.

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of the name is doubtful. Dio Cassius (54. 9) refers to the same man as "Zarmarus" (see critical note).



following words were inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies Zarmanochegas,<sup>1</sup> an Indian from Bargosa, who immortalised himself in accordance with the ancestral customs of Indians."

## II

1. After India one comes to Ariana, the first portion of the country subject to the Persians after<sup>2</sup> the Indus River and of the upper satrapies situated outside the Taurus. Ariana is bounded on the south and on the north by the same sea and the same mountains as India, as also by the same river, the Indus, which flows between itself and India; and from this river it extends towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Carmania, so that its shape is quadrilateral. Now the southern side begins at the outlets of the Indus and at Patalenê, and ends at Carmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where it has a promontory that projects considerably towards the south; and then it takes a bend into the gulf in the direction of Persis. Ariana is inhabited first by the Arbies, whose name is like that of the River Arbis, which forms the boundary between them and the next tribe, the Oreitae; and the Arbies have a seaboard about one thousand stadia in length, as Nearchus says; but this too is a portion of India. Then one comes to the Oreitae, an autonomous tribe. The coasting voyage along the country of this tribe is one thousand eight hundred stadia in length, and the next, along that of the Ichthyophagi, seven

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "to the west of."

ἑπτακισχίλιοι τετρακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Καρμανίων  
τρισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι μέχρι Περσίδος· ὥσθ' οἱ  
σύμπαντες μύριοι δισχίλιοι<sup>1</sup> ἑννακόσιοι.

2. Ἀλιτενῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων καὶ  
ἄδενδρος ἡ πλείστη πλήν<sup>2</sup> φοινίκων καὶ ἀκάνθης  
τινὸς καὶ μυρίκης· καὶ ὑδάτων δὲ καὶ τροφῆς  
ἡμέρου σπάνις· τοῖς δ' ἰχθύσι χρώνται καὶ αὐτοὶ  
καὶ θρέμματα καὶ τοῖς ὀμβρίοις ὕδασι καὶ ὀρυ-  
κτοῖς· καὶ τὰ κρέα δὲ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἰχθύων  
προσβάλλει· οἰκήσεις δὲ ποιοῦνται τοῖς ὀστέοις  
τῶν κητῶν χρώμενοι καὶ κόγχοις ὀστρέων τὸ  
πλέον, δοκοῖς μὲν ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ ὑπερείσμασι,  
θυρώμασι δὲ ταῖς σιαγόσιν· οἱ σπόνδυλοι δ'  
αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ὄλμοι, ἐν οἷς πτίσσουνσι τοὺς ἰχθύας  
ἐν ἡλίῳ κατοπτήσαντες· εἴτ' ἀρτοποιοῦνται σίτου  
C 721 μικρὰ καταμίζαντες· καὶ γὰρ μύλοι αὐτοῖς εἰσι,  
σιδήρου μὴ ὄντος· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἥττον θαυμα-  
στόν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν εἰ ἐέγκασθαι δυνατόν· ἀλλὰ  
πῶς ἐπικόπτουσιν ἀποτριβέοντας ;<sup>3</sup> λίθοις μέντοι  
φασίν, οἷς καὶ τὰ βέλη καὶ τὰ ἀκοντίσματα τὰ  
πεφυρακτωμένα ἀποξύνουνσι· τοὺς δ' ἰχθύας, τοὺς  
μὲν ἐν κλιβάνοις κατοπτῶσι, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους  
ὠμοφαγοῦσι· περιβάλλονται δὲ καὶ δικτύοις  
φλοιοῦ φοινικίνου.

3. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἡ Γεδρωσία, τῆς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> δισχίλιοι, Kramer and the later editors emend to  
τρισχίλιοι; but it is better to accept the reading of the  
MSS. and assume that Strabo does not include in his sum  
total the coast of the Arbies in India, "about one thousand  
stadia" in length.

thousand four hundred, and that along the country of the Carmanians as far as Persis, three thousand seven hundred, so that the total voyage is twelve thousand nine hundred stadia.

2. The country of the Ichthyophagi<sup>1</sup> is on the sea-level; and most of it is without trees, except palms and a kind of thorn and the tamarisk; and there is a scarcity both of water and of foods produced by cultivation; and both the people and their cattle use fish for food and drink waters supplied by rains and wells; and the meat of their cattle smells like fish; and they build their dwellings mostly with the bones of whales and with oyster-shells, using the ribs of whales as beams and supports, and the jawbones as doorposts; and they use the vertebral bones of whales as mortars, in which they pound the fish after roasting them in the sun; and then they make bread of this, mixing a small amount of flour with it, for they have grinding-mills, although they have no iron. And this is indeed not so surprising, for they could import grinding-mills from other places; but how do they cut them anew when worn smooth? Why, with the same stones, they say, with which they sharpen arrows and javelins that have been hardened in fire. As for fish, they bake some in covered earthen vessels, but for the most part eat them raw; and they catch them, among other ways, with nets made of palm-bark.

3. Above the country of the Ichthyophagi is

<sup>2</sup> Fish-eaters.

<sup>2</sup> πλῆν, omitted by all MSS. except Ez.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποτριβέντας, Corais, for ἐπιτριβέντα C, ἀποτριβέντα other MSS.

Ινδικῆς ἦττον ἔμπυρος, τῆς δ' ἄλλης Ἀσίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς καὶ τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐνδεὴς πλὴν θέρους, οὐ πολὺ ἀμείνων τῆς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων· ἄρωματοφόρος δὲ νάρδου μάλιστα καὶ σμύρνης, ὥστε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιὰν ὁδεύουσαν ἀντὶ ὁρόφου καὶ στρωμάτων τούτοις χρῆσθαι, εὐωδιαζομένην ἅμα καὶ ὑγιεινότερον τὸν ἀέρα ἔχουσιν παρὰ τοῦτο· γενέσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς θέρους τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἄφοδον ἐπίτηδες συνέβη· τότε γὰρ ὄμβρους ἔχειν τὴν Γεδρωσίαν καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πληροῦσθαι καὶ τὰ ὑδρεῖα, χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιλείπειν· πίπτειν δὲ τοὺς ὄμβρους ἐν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τοῖς προσαρκτίοις καὶ ἐγγὺς τῶν ὄρων· πληρουμένων δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ τὰ πεδία τὰ πλησιάζοντα<sup>1</sup> τῇ θαλάττῃ ποτίζεσθαι καὶ ὑδρεῖων εὐπορεῖν· προέπεψε δ' εἰς τὴν ἔρημον μεταλλευτὰς τῶν ὑδρεῖων ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ναύσταθμα αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατασκευάζοντας.

4. Τριχῇ γὰρ διελὼν τὰς δυνάμεις, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς ὥρμησε διὰ τῆς Γεδρωσίας, ἀφιστάμενος τῆς θαλάττης τὸ πλείστον πεντακοσίους σταδίους, ἵν' ἅμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τὴν παραλίαν ἐπιτηδεῖαν παρασκευάζοι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνάπτων τῇ θαλάττῃ, καίπερ ἀπόρους καὶ τραχείας ἐχούσῃ<sup>2</sup> τὰς ἀκτῆς· τὴν δὲ προέπεμψε μετὰ Κρατεροῦ διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας, ἅμα χειρουμένου<sup>3</sup> τε τὴν Ἀριανὴν καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους, ἐφ' οὓς Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν πορείαν εἶχε· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν Νεάρχῳ καὶ Ὀνησικρίτῳ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> Dhi read λιμνάζοντα.

situated Gedrosia, a country less torrid than India, but more torrid than the rest of Asia; and since it is in lack of fruits and water, except in summer, it is not much better than the country of the Ichthyophagi. But it produces spices, in particular nard plants and myrrh trees, so that Alexander's army on their march used these for tent-coverings and bedding, at the same time enjoying thereby sweet odours and a more salubrious atmosphere; and they made their return from India in the summer on purpose, for at that time Gedrosia has rains, and the rivers and the wells are filled, though in winter they fail, and the rains fall in the upper regions towards the north and near the mountains; and when the rivers are filled the plains near the sea are watered and the wells are full. And the king sent persons before him into the desert country to dig wells and to prepare stations for himself and his fleet.

4. For he divided his forces into three parts, and himself set out with one division through Gedrosia. He kept away from the sea no more than five hundred stadia at most, in order that he might at the same time equip the seaboard for the reception of his fleet; and he often closely approached the sea, although its shores were hard to traverse and rugged. The second division he sent forward through the interior under the command of Craterus, who at the same time was to subdue Ariana and also to advance to the same region whither Alexander was directing his march. The fleet he gave over to Nearchus and

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<sup>2</sup> ἐχούση, Tzschucke and the later editors, for ἐχούσης.

<sup>3</sup> χειρουμένων, Groskurd and later editors, for χειρούμενοι.

ἀρχικυβερνήτῃ παραδούς ἐκέλευσεν, οἰκείας στάσεως ἐπιλαμβανομένους ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ ἀντιπαραπλεῖν αὐτοῦ τῇ πορείᾳ.

5. Καὶ δὴ καὶ φησιν ὁ Νέαρχος, ἤδη τοῦ βασιλέως τελούντος τὴν ὁδόν, αὐτὸς μετοπώρου κατὰ πλειάδος ἐπιτολὴν ἐσπερίαν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πλοῦ, μήπω μὲν τῶν πνευμάτων οἰκείων ὄντων, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπιχειρούντων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξελαυνόντων· καταθαρρῆσαι γάρ, ἀπελθόντος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐλευθεριάσαι. Κρατερὸς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ἄρξάμενος δι' Ἀραχωτῶν ἦει καὶ Δραγγῶν εἰς Καρμανίαν. Πολλὰ δ' ἔταλαι-  
C 722 πῶρει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καθ' ὅλην τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ λυπρᾶς ἰών· πόρρωθεν δ' ὁμοίως<sup>1</sup> ἐπεχορηγεῖτο μικρὰ καὶ σπάνια, ὥστε λιμώττειν τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε, καὶ τὰ σκεύη κατελείπετο ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φοινίκων ἦν ἡ σωτηρία, τοῦ τε καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου. φασὶ δὲ φιλοεικῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καίπερ εἰδότα τὰς ἀπορίας, πρὸς τὴν κατέχουσαν δόξαν, ὡς Σεμίραμις μὲν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν φεύγουσα σώθειη μετὰ ἀνδρῶν ὡς εἴκοσι, Κῦρος δὲ ἐπτά, εἰ δύναίτο αὐτὸς τοσοῦτο στράτευμα διασῶσαι διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας, νικῶν καὶ ταῦτα.

6. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ τὸ καῦμα καὶ τὸ βάθος τῆς ψάμμου καὶ ἡ θερμότης, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ θῖνες ὑψηλοί, ὥστε πρὸς τῇ<sup>2</sup> δυσχερῶς ἀναφέρειν τὰ σκέλη, καθάπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ,

<sup>1</sup> ὁμοίως, Corais, for ὅμως.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τῇ (omitted by *mss*), Corais, for πρὸς τό, other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> See 15. 1. 5.

Onesicritus, the latter his master pilot, giving them orders to take an appropriate position, and to follow, and sail alongside, his line of march.

5. Moreover, Nearchus says that when now the king was completing his journey he himself began the voyage, in the autumn, at the time of the rising of the Pleiad in the west; and that the winds were not yet favourable, and that the barbarians attacked them and tried to drive them out; for, he adds, the barbarians took courage when the king departed and acted like freemen. Craterus set out from the Hydaspes and went through the country of the Arachoti and of the Drangae into Carmania. But Alexander was in great distress throughout the whole journey, since he was marching through a wretched country; and from a distance, likewise, he could procure additional supplies only in small quantities and at rare intervals, so that his army was famished; and the beasts of burden fagged out, and the baggage was left behind on the roads and in the camps; but they were saved by the date palms, eating not only the fruit but also the cabbage at the top. They say that Alexander, although aware of the difficulties, conceived an ambition, in view of the prevailing opinion that Semiramis escaped in flight from India with only about twenty men and Cyrus with seven, to see whether he himself could safely lead that large army of his through the same country and win this victory too.<sup>1</sup>

6. In addition to the resourcelessness of the country, the heat of the sun was grievous, as also the depth and the heat of the sand; and in some places there were sand-hills so high that, in addition to the difficulty of lifting one's legs, as out of a pit,

καὶ ἀναβάσεις εἶναι καὶ καταβάσεις· ἀνάγκη δ' ἦν καὶ σταθμοὺς ποιεῖσθαι μακροῦς, διὰ τὰ ὑδρεῖα, διακοσίων καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἑξακοσίων, νυκτοποροῦντας τὸ πλεόν. πόρρω δὲ τῶν ὑδρείων ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν τριάκοντα σταδίοις πολλάκις τοῦ μὴ ἐμφορεῖσθαι κατὰ δίψος· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὅπλοις ἔπινον ὡς ἂν ὑποβρύχιοι, φυσώμενοι δ' ἐπέπλεον ἐκπεπνευκότες καὶ τὰ ὑδρεῖα βραχέα ὄντα διέφθειρον· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπηγορευκότες ἔκειντο ὑπὸ δίψους· ἔπειτα τρομώδεις μετὰ παλμοῦ χειρῶν καὶ σκελῶν ἔθνησκον παραπλησίως, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> ῥίγους καὶ φρίκης ἐχόμενοι. συνέβαινε δὲ τισι καὶ ἐκτραπομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν καταδαρθεῖν κρατουμένοις ὑπὸ ὕπνου καὶ κόπου· ὑστερήσαντες δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο πλάνη τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπορίας ἀπάντων καὶ καύματος, οἱ δ' ἐσώθησαν, πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντες· πολλὰ δὲ κατέκλυσε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐπιπεσὼν χειμάρρους νύκτωρ· καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς ἐξηλείφθη πολλή· καὶ τῶν καθοδηγῶν δὲ<sup>2</sup> κατ' ἄγνοιαν πολὺ εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐκτραπομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι ὁρᾶν τὴν θάλατταν, συνεῖς ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐξαυτῆς ὥρμησε, ζητήσων τὴν ἡίονα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ εὗρε καὶ ὀρύξας εἶδεν ὕδωρ πότιμον, μεταπέμπεται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ λοιπὸν μέχρι ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ πλησίον ἦει τῆς ἡίονος, εὐπορῶν ὑδρείας· ἔπειτ' αὐθις εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἀνεχώρησεν.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπό, omitted by MSS. except *moz.*

<sup>2</sup> δέ, omitted by *moz.*, τε other MSS. ; emended by Corais.



there were also ascents and descents to be made. And it was necessary also, on account of the wells, to make long marches of two hundred or three hundred stadia, and sometimes even six hundred, travelling mostly by night. But they would encamp at a distance from the wells, often at a distance of thirty stadia, in order that the soldiers might not, to satisfy their thirst, drink too much water; for many would plunge into the wells, armour and all, and drink as submerged men would; and then, after expiring, would swell up and float on the surface and corrupt the wells, which were shallow; and others, exhausted by reason of thirst, would lie down in the middle of the road in the open sun, and then trembling, along with a jerking of hands and legs, they would die like persons seized with chills or ague. And in some cases soldiers would turn aside from the main road and fall asleep, being overcome by sleep and fatigue. And some, falling behind the army, perished by wandering from the roads and by reason of heat and lack of everything, though others arrived safely, but only after suffering many hardships; and a torrential stream, coming on by night, overwhelmed both a large number of persons and numerous articles; and much of the royal equipment was also swept away; and when the guides ignorantly turned aside so far into the interior that the sea was no longer visible, the king, perceiving their error, set out at once to seek for the shore; and when he found it, and by digging discovered potable water, he sent for the army, and thereafter kept close to shore for seven days, with a good supply of water; and then he withdrew again into the interior.

7. Ἦν δέ τι ὅμοιον τῇ δάφνῃ φυτόν, οὗ τὸ γευσάμενον τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπέθνησκε μετὰ ἐπιληψίας καὶ ἀφροῦ· ἄκανθα δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐπὶ C 723 γῆς κεχυμένη, καθάπερ οἱ σίκυοι, πλήρης ἦν ὁποῦ· τούτου δὲ ῥανίδες, εἰς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμπεσοῦσαι, πᾶν ἀπετύφλουν ζῶον. οἳ τε ὥμοι φοίνικες ἔπνιγον πολλούς. ἦν δὲ κίνδυνος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄψεων· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς θισὶν ἐπεφύκει βοτάνη, ταύτῃ δ' ὑποδεδυκότες ἐλάνθανον, τοὺς δὲ πληγέντας ἀπέκτεινον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρείταις τὰ τοξεύματα χρίεσθαι θανάσιμοις φαρμάκοις ἔφασαν, ξύλινα ὄντα καὶ πεπυρακτωμένα· τρωθέντα δὲ Πτολεμαῖον κινδυνεύειν· ἐν ὕπνῳ δὲ παραστάντα τινὰ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δεῖξαι ῥίζαν αὐτόπρεμνον, ἣν κελεῦσαι τρίβοντα ἐπιτιθέναι τῷ τρωθέντι· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὕπνου γενόμενον, μεμνημένον τῆς ὄψεως εὔρειν ζητοῦντα τὴν ῥίζαν πολλὴν πεφυκυῖαν καὶ χρήσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐρημένον τὸ ἀλέξημα ὑπηκόους γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. εἰκὸς δὲ τινα μηνῦσαι τῶν εἰδότην· τὸ δὲ μυθῶδες προσετέθη κολακείας χάριν. ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Γεδρωσίων ἐξηκοσταῖος ἀπὸ Ὀρῶν, διαναπαύσας τὰ πλήθη μικρόν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν Καρμανίαν.

8. Τὸ μὲν δὴ νότιον τῆς Ἀριανῆς πλευρὸν τοιαύτην τινὰ ἔχει τὴν τῆς παραλίας διάθεσιν

<sup>1</sup> "Orae" seems surely to be a variant spelling of "Oreitae," as Groskurd points out.

7. There was a kind of plant like the laurel which caused any beast of burden which tasted of it to die with epilepsy, along with foaming at the mouth. And there was a prickly plant, the fruit of which strewn the ground, like cucumbers, and was full of juice; and if drops of this juice struck an eye of any creature, they always blinded it. Further, many were choked by eating unripe dates. And there was also danger from the snakes; for herbs grew on the sand-hills, and beneath these herbs the snakes had crept unnoticed; and they killed every person they struck. It was said that among the Oreitae the arrows, which were made of wood and hardened in fire, were besmeared with deadly poisons; and that Ptolemaeus was wounded and in danger of losing his life; and that when Alexander was asleep someone stood beside him and showed him a root, branch and all, which he bade Alexander to crush and apply to the wound; and that when Alexander awoke from his sleep he remembered the vision, sought for, and found, the root, which grew in abundance; and that he made use of it, both he himself and the others; and that when the barbarians saw that the antidote had been discovered they surrendered to the king. But it is reasonable to suppose that someone who knew of the antidote informed the king, and that the fabulous element was added for the sake of flattery. Having arrived at the royal seat of the Gedrosii on the sixtieth day after leaving the Orae,<sup>1</sup> Alexander gave his multitudinous army only a short rest and then set out for Carmania.

8. Such, then, on the southern side of Ariana, is about the geographical position of the seaboard and

καὶ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης πλησίον γῆς τῆς τῶν Γεδρωσίων καὶ Ὠρειτῶν. πολλὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰς τὴν μεσόγαίαν ἀνέχουσα καὶ ἡ Γεδρωσία μέχρι τοῦ συνάψαι Δράγγαις τε καὶ Ἀραχωτοῖς καὶ Παροπαμισάδαις, περὶ ὧν Ἑρατοσθένης οὕτως εἶρηκεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔχομέν τι λέγειν βέλτιον περὶ αὐτῶν). ὀρίζεσθαι μὲν γάρ φησι τὴν Ἀριανὴν ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἑω τῷ Ἰνδῷ, πρὸς νότον δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Παροπαμισῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς ὅρεσι μέχρι Κασπίων πυλῶν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅροις, οἷς ἡ μὲν Παρθυνὴ πρὸς Μηδίαν, ἡ δὲ Καρμανία πρὸς τὴν Παιραιτακηνὴν καὶ Περσίδα διώρισται· πλάτος δὲ τῆς χώρας τὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ μῆκος τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Παροπαμισοῦ μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, μύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι στάδιοι (οἱ δὲ τρισχιλίους φασί). μῆκος δὲ ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀσιατικοῖς σταθμοῖς ἀναγέγραπται, διττόν. μέχρι μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς ἐν Ἀρίοις ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν διὰ τῆς Παρθυαίας μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ὁδός· εἴθ' ἡ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας διὰ τῆς Βακτριανῆς καὶ τῆς ὑπερβάσεως τοῦ ὅρους εἰς Ὀρτόσπανα<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐκ Βάκτρων τρίοδον, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς Παροπαμισάδαις· ἡ δ' ἐκτρέπεται μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρίας πρὸς νότον εἰς Προφθασίαν τῆς Δραγγιανῆς· εἴτα πάλιν ἡ λοιπὴ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Ὀρτόσπανα. Casaubon and later editors, for Ὀρόσπανα.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ, Groskurd, for διὰ.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo refers to his description in §§ 1-3 (above).

<sup>2</sup> Ariana, not Gedrosia, as some think.

<sup>3</sup> Merely a portion of Ariana.

of the lands of the Gedrosii and Oreitae, which lands are situated next above the seaboard.<sup>1</sup> It<sup>2</sup> is a large country, and even Gedrosia<sup>3</sup> reaches up into the interior as far as the Drangae, the Arachoti, and the Paropamisadae, concerning whom Eratosthenes has spoken as follows (for I am unable to give any better description). He says that Ariana is bounded on the east by the Indus River, on the south by the great sea, on the north by the Paropamisus mountain and the mountains that follow it as far as the Caspian Gates, and that its parts on the west are marked by the same boundaries by which Parthia is separated from Media and Carmania from Paratacenê and Persis. He says that the breadth of the country is the length of the Indus from the Paropamisus mountain to the outlets, a distance of twelve thousand stadia (though some say thirteen thousand); and that its length from the Caspian Gates, as recorded in the work entitled *Asiatic Stathmi*,<sup>4</sup> is stated in two ways: that is, as far as Alexandria in the country of the Arii, from the Caspian Gates through the country of the Parthians, there is one and the same road; and then, from there, one road leads in a straight line through Bactriana and over the mountain pass into Ortospana to the meeting of the three roads from Bactra, which city is in the country of the Paropamisadae; whereas the other turns off slightly from Aria towards the south to Prophthasia in Drangiana, and the remainder of it leads back to the boundaries of India and to the

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the various *Halting-places* in Asia. The same records have already been referred to in 15. 1. 11. The author of this work appears to have been a certain Amyntas, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition (see Athenaeus 11. 500 D, 12. 529 E, 2. 67 A, and Aelian 17. 17).

C 724 Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ· ὥστε μακροτέρα ἐστὶν αὕτη ἢ διὰ τῶν Δραγγῶν καὶ Ἀραχωτῶν, σταδίων μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων τριακοσίων ἢ πᾶσα. εἰ δὴ τις ἀφέλοι τοὺς χιλίους<sup>1</sup> τριακοσίους, ἔχοι ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τὸ ἐπ' εὐθείας· μῆκος τῆς χώρας, μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων· οὐ πολὺ γὰρ ἔλαττον τὸ<sup>2</sup> τῆς παραλίας, κἂν παραύξωσί τινες αὐτό,<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις τὴν Καρμανίαν ἑξακισχιλίων τιθέντες· ἡ γὰρ σὺν<sup>4</sup> τοῖς κόλποις φανοῦνται τιθέντες ἡ σὺν τῇ ἐντὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου παραλίᾳ τῇ Καρμανικῇ. ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τοῦτομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτρίων καὶ Σογδιανῶν· εἰσὶ γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.

9. Ἡ δὲ τάξις τῶν ἐθνῶν τοιαύτη· παρὰ μὲν τὸν Ἰνδὸν οἱ Παροπαμισάδαι, ὧν ὑπέρκειται ὁ Παροπαμισὸς ὄρος, εἴτ' Ἀραχωτοὶ πρὸς νότον, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς πρὸς νότον Γεδρωσηνοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὴν παραλίαν ἔχουσιν· ἅπασιν δὲ παρὰ τὰ πλάτη τῶν χωρίων παράκειται ὁ Ἰνδός. τούτων δ' ἐκ μερὸς τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἔχουσί τινα Ἰνδοί, πρότερον ὄντα Περσῶν· ἃ ἀφείλετο μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Ἀριανῶν καὶ κατοικίας ἰδίας συνεστήσατο, ἔδωκε δὲ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ Σανδροκόττῳ, συνθέμενος ἐπιγαμίαν καὶ ἀντιλαβὼν ἐλέφαντας πεντακοσίους. τοῖς Παροπαμισάδαις δὲ παράκεινται πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν Ἄριοι, τοῖς δὲ Ἀραχωτοῖς Δράγγαι καὶ τοῖς Γεδρωσίοις·

<sup>1</sup> Instead of χιλίους Di read τρισχιλίους.

<sup>2</sup> τό, Groskurd inserts. <sup>3</sup> αὐτό x, αὐτῶν other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> γὰρ σὺν Fz, γὰρ ἂν σὺν other MSS.

Indus; so that this road which leads through the country of the Drangae and Arachoti is longer, its entire length being fifteen thousand three hundred stadia. But if one should subtract one thousand three hundred, one would have as the remainder the length of the country in a straight line, fourteen thousand stadia; for the length of the seacoast is not much less,<sup>1</sup> although some writers increase the total, putting down, in addition to the ten thousand stadia, Carmania with six thousand more; for they obviously reckon the length either along with the gulfs or along with the part of the Carmanian seacoast that is inside the Persian Gulf; and the name of Ariana is further extended to a part of Persia and of Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north; for these speak approximately the same language, with but slight variations.

9. The geographical position of the tribes is as follows: along the Indus are the Paropamisadae, above whom lies the Paropamisus mountain: then, towards the south, the Arachoti: then next, towards the south, the Gedroseni, with the other tribes that occupy the seaboard; and the Indus lies, latitudinally, alongside all these places; and of these places, in part, some that lie along the Indus are held by Indians, although they formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander took these away from the Arians and established settlements of his own, but Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus, upon terms of intermarriage and of receiving in exchange five hundred elephants. Alongside the Paropamisadae, on the west, are situated the Arii, and alongside the Arachoti and Gedrosii the Drangae; but the Arii

<sup>1</sup> The length given in § 1 (above) is 12,900.

οἱ δ' Ἄριοι τοῖς Δράγγαις ἅμα καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον παράκεινται καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἐγκυκλούμενοι μικρά πωσ. ἡ δὲ Βακτριανὴ τῇ τε Ἀρίᾳ πρὸς ἄρκτον<sup>1</sup> παράκειται καὶ τοῖς Παροπαμισάδαις, δι' ὧν περ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Καύκασον, ἐλαύνων τὴν ἐπὶ Βάκτρων· πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ ἐφεξῆς εἰσι τοῖς Ἀρίοις Παρθυαῖοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Κασπίους πύλας· πρὸς νότον δὲ τούτοις ἡ ἔρημος τῆς Καρμανίας, εἰθ' ἡ λοιπὴ Καρμανία καὶ Γεδρωσία.

10. Γνοίῃ δ' ἂν τις τὰ περὶ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὀρεινὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον, προσιστορήσας τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ ἐχρήσατο διώκων τοὺς περὶ Βησσὸν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάκτρων Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς. εἰς γὰρ τὴν Ἀριανὴν ἦκεν· εἴτ' εἰς Δράγγας, ὅπου Φιλώταν ἀνεῖλε τὸν Παρμενίωνος υἱόν, φωράσας ἐπιβουλήν· ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τοὺς καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀνελοῦντας, ὡς κοινωνὸν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. φασὶ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δρομάδων καμῆλων ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἢ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐνδεκαταίους διανύσαι καὶ τελευτῆσαι τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἱ δὲ Δράγγαι περσίζοντες τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν βίον οἴνου σπανίζουσι, γίνεται δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καττίτερος. εἴτ' ἐκ Δραγγῶν ἐπὶ τε τοὺς Εὐεργέτας ἦκεν, οὓς ὁ Κῦρος οὕτως ὠνόμασε, καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχωτούς, εἴτα διὰ τῶν Παροπαμισαδῶν  
C 725 ὑπὸ Πλειάδος δύσιν· ἔστι δ' ὀρεινὴ καὶ κεχιονοβόλητο τότε, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ὠδεύετο· πυκναὶ μέντοι κῶμαι δεχόμεναι πάντων εὐποροὶ πλὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἄρκτον, Kramer and later editors, for ἀριστερόν.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Philotas.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "Benefactors."



are situated alongside the Drangae on the north as well as on the west, almost surrounding a small part of their country. Bactriana lies to the north alongside both Aria and the Paropamisadae, through whose country Alexander passed over the Caucasus on his march to Bactra. Towards the west, next to the Arii, are situated the Parthians and the region round the Caspian Gates; and to the south of these lies the desert of Carmania; and then follows the rest of Carmania and Gedrosia.

10. One would understand still better the accounts of the aforesaid mountainous country if one inquired further into the route which Alexander took in his pursuit of Bessus from the Parthian territory towards Bactriana; for he came into Ariana, and then amongst the Drangae, where he put to death the son of Parmenio,<sup>1</sup> whom he caught in a plot; and he also sent persons to Ecbatana to put to death the father of Philotas, as an accomplice in the plot. It is said that these persons, riding on dromedaries, completed in eleven days a journey of thirty days, or even forty, and accomplished their undertaking. The Drangae, who otherwise are imitators of the Persians in their mode of life, have only scanty supplies of wine, but they have tin in their country. Then, from the Drangae, Alexander went to the Evergetae,<sup>2</sup> who were so named by Cyrus,<sup>3</sup> and to the Arachoti; and then, at the setting of the Pleiad, through the country of the Paropamisadae, a country which is mountainous, and at that time was covered with snow, so that it was hard to travel. However, numerous villages, well supplied with everything

<sup>3</sup> Cyrus the Elder—in return for their kindly services when he marched through the desert of Carmania (Arrian 3. 27, 37).

ἐλαίου παρεμυθούντο τὰς δυσκολίας· εἶχόν τε ἐν ἄριστερᾷ τὰς ἀκρωρείας. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μεσημβρινὰ μὲν τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παροπαμισοῦ Ἰνδικά τε καὶ Ἀριανά· τὰ δὲ προσάρκτια τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέραν Βάκτρια, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔω τῶν ὁμόρων<sup>1</sup> τοῖς Βακτρίοις βαρβάρων. διαχειμάσας δ' αὐτόθι, ὑπερδέξιον ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας ὑπερήκρισεν εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν διὰ ψιλῶν ὁδῶν πλὴν τερμίνθου θαμνώδους ὀλίγης, ἀπορούμενος καὶ τροφῆς, ὥστε ταῖς τῶν κτηνῶν σαρξὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ταύταις ὡμαῖς διὰ τὴν ἀξυλίαν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὠμοσιτίαν πεπτικὸν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ σίλφιον, πολὺ πεφυκός. πεντεκαίδεκαταῖος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κτισθείσης πόλεως καὶ τῶν χειμαδίων ἦκεν εἰς Ἀδραψα, πόλιν τῆς Βακτριανῆς.

11. Περὶ ταῦτα δέ που τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁμόρου τῇ Ἰνδικῇ καὶ τὴν Χασαρηνὴν εἶναι συμβαίνει· ἔστι δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις αὕτη προσεχεστία τῇ Ἰνδικῇ· διέχει δὲ τῆς Ἀριανῆς δι' Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ τῆς λεχθείσης ὀρεινῆς σταδίους μυρίους ἐννακισχιλίους. ταύτην δὲ τὴν χώραν διεξιὼν Κρατερός, καταστρεφόμενος ἅμα τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ἔει συμμῖξαι τὴν ταχίστην σπεύδων τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔω τῶν ὁμόρων, lacuna supplied by Jones. τοῖς Βακτρίοις βαρβάρων omitted by E (this MS., however, leaves a space of about three words) and by μοι; τοῖς Βακτρίοις βαρβάρους ἰωχ, Casaubon and Corais (who, however, place an asterisk before the words); Kramer conj. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔω Σογδιανὰ (citing 11. 8. 8, 11. 11. 2, 3); Müller-Dübner and Meineke merely indicate a lacuna before τοῖς Βακτρίοις βαρβάρων.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo seems to refer to the juice of the "terebinth" above-mentioned.

except oil, received them and alleviated their troubles; and they had the mountain summits on their left. Now the southern parts of the Paropamisus mountain belong to India and Ariana; but as for the parts on the north, those towards the west belong to the Bactrians, whereas those towards the east belong to the barbarians who border on the Bactrians. He spent the winter here, with India above him to the right, and founded a city, and then passed over the top of the mountain into Bactriana, through roads that were bare of everything except a few terebinth trees of the shrub kind; and was so in lack of food that it was necessary to eat the flesh of the beasts of burden, and, for lack of wood, even to eat it raw. But the silphium, which grew in abundance there,<sup>1</sup> was helpful in the digestion of the raw food. On the fifteenth day after founding the city and leaving his winter quarters, he came to Adrapsa,<sup>2</sup> a city in Bactriana.

11. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of these parts of the country that borders on India lies Chaarenê; and this, of all the countries subject to the Parthians, lies closest to India. It is distant from Ariana,<sup>3</sup> through the land of the Arachoti and the above-mentioned mountainous country, nineteen thousand stadia.<sup>4</sup> Craterus traversed this country, at the same time subduing all who refused to submit, and went by the quickest route, being eager to join

<sup>2</sup> "Adrapsa" is probably an error for "Gadrapsa" (see Vol. V, p. 280, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> An error, apparently, for Aria.

<sup>4</sup> This figure, as given in the MSS., is preposterous. But a slight emendation yields "ten, or nine, thousand stadia," which is more nearly correct.

δὴ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους σχεδόν τι συνέδραμον εἰς τὴν Καρμανίαν αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις ἀμφότεραι. καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον οἱ περὶ Νέαρχον εἰσέπλεον εἰς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον, πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντες διὰ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν κητῶν.

12. Εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἡδολεσχηκέναι πολλὰ τοὺς πλεύσαντας, ὅμως δ' οὖν εἰρήκασι παραδηλοῦντες ἅμα καὶ τὸ παραστὰν αὐτοῖς πάθος, διότι προσδοκία μᾶλλον ἢ κίνδυνος ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἀληθέσι. τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ταράττον φυσητήρων μεγέθη, ῥοῦν ἀπεργαζομένων μέγαν ἀθρόον καὶ ἀχλὺν ἐκ τῶν ἀναφυσημάτων, ὥστε τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν μέρη μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ καθηγεμόνες τοῦ πλοῦ, δεδιότων ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν οὐχ ὁρώντων, ἐμήνυσαν, ὅτι θηρία εἴη, τάχα δ' ἀπαλλάττοιο σάλπιγγος ἀκούσαντα καὶ κρότου, ἐκ τούτου Νέαρχος ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπῆγε μὲν τὸ ῥόθιον, καθ' ἃπερ ἐκώλυον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐφόβει· τὰ δὲ θηρία ἔδυνεν, εἴτ' ἀνεφαίνετο κατὰ πρύμναν, ὥστε ναυμαχίας ἀγωνίαν παρεῖχεν· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἀφίστατο.

13. Λέγουσι μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ νῦν πλείοντες εἰς Ἰνδοὺς μεγέθη θηρίων καὶ ἐπιφανείας, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀθρόων οὔτ' ἐπιφερομένων πολλαίικis, ἀλλ' ἀποσοβηθέντα τῇ κραυγῇ καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπαλλάτ-

the king; and indeed both forces of infantry gathered together in Carmania at about the same time. And a little later Nearchus sailed with his fleet into the Persian Gulf, having often suffered distress because of his wanderings and hardships and the huge whales.

12. Now it is reasonable to suppose that those who made the journey by sea have prated in many cases to the point of exaggeration; but nevertheless their statements show indirectly at the same time the trouble with which they were afflicted—that underlying their real hardships there was apprehension rather than peril. But what disturbed them most was the spouting whales, which, by their spoutings, would emit such massive streams of water and mist all at once that the sailors could not see a thing that lay before them. But the pilots of the voyage informed the sailors, who were frightened at this and did not see the cause of it, that it was caused by creatures in the sea, and that one could get rid of them by sounding trumpets and making loud noises; and consequently Nearchus led his fleet towards the tumultuous spoutings of the whales, where they impeded his progress, and at the same time frightened them with trumpets; and the whales first dived, and then showed up at the sterns of the ships, thus affording the spectacle of a naval combat, but immediately made off.

13. Those who now sail to India, however, also speak of the size of these creatures and of their manner of appearance, but do not speak of them either as appearing in large groups or as often making attacks, though they do speak of them as being scared away and got rid of by shouts and

C 726 τεσθαι. φασὶ δ' αὐτὰ μὲν μὴ πλησιάζειν τῇ γῇ, τὰ δ' ὅστ'α διαλυθέντων ψιλωθέντα ἐκκυμαίνεσθαι ῥαδίως καὶ χορηγεῖν τὴν λεχθεῖσαν ὕλην τοῖς ἰχθυοφάγοις περὶ τὰς καλυβοποιίας. μέγεθος δὲ τῶν κητῶν φησιν ὁ Νέαρχος τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ὀργυῶν. πιστευθέν τι δὲ ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ φησὶν ὁ Νέαρχος ἐξελέγξαι ψεῦδος ὄν· ὥς εἴη τις ἐν τῷ πόρῳ νῆσος, ἣ ἀφανίζοι τοὺς προσορμισθέντας· κέρκουρον γάρ τινα πλέοντα, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἐγεγόνει, μηκέτι ὀραθῆναι· πεμφθέντας δὲ τινὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκβῆναι μὲν μὴ θαρρεῖν εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπλέοντας, ἀνακαλεῖν δὲ κραυγῇ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος, ἐπανελθεῖν. ἀπάντων δ' αἰτιωμένων τὴν νῆσον, αὐτὸς ἔφη πλεῦσαι καὶ προσορμισθεὶς ἐκβῆναι μετὰ μέρους τῶν συμπλευσάντων καὶ περιελθεῖν τὴν νῆσον· ὥς δ' οὐδὲν εὔρισκεν ἵχνος τῶν ζητουμένων, ἀπογνόντα ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥς ἡ μὲν νῆσος ψευδὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοι (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς συνεκβᾶσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπάρξαι ἂν<sup>1</sup> φθόρος), ἄλλος δὲ τις τῷ κερκούρῳ τρόπος τοῦ ἀφανισμοῦ συμβαίη, μυρίων ὄντων δυνατῶν.

14. Ἡ δὲ Καρμανία τελευταία μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ<sup>2</sup> παραλίας, ἀρκτικωτέρα δ' ἐστὶ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολῆς· τὸ μέντοι πρῶτον αὐτῆς ἄκρον ἔκκειται πρὸς νότον εἰς τὴν μεγάλην

<sup>1</sup> ἂν, added by *moz* and the editors.

<sup>2</sup> The words παραλίας . . . Ἰνδοῦ are omitted by all MSS. except EF.

trumpets. They say that these creatures do not approach the land, but that the bones of those that have died, when bared of flesh, are readily thrown ashore by the waves, and supply the Ichthyophagi with the above-mentioned material for the construction of their huts.<sup>1</sup> According to Nearchus, the size of the whales is twenty-three fathoms.<sup>2</sup> Nearchus says that he found to be false a thing confidently believed by the sailors in the fleet—I mean their belief that there was an island in the passage which caused the disappearance of all who moored near it; for he says that, although a certain light boat on a voyage was no longer to be seen after it approached this island, and although certain men sent in quest of the lost people sailed out past the island and would not venture to disembark upon it, but called the people with loud outcry, and, when no one answered their cry, came on back, yet he himself, though one and all charged their disappearance to the island, sailed thither, moored there, disembarked with a part of those who sailed with him, and went all over it; but that he found no trace of the people sought, gave up his search, came on back, and informed his people that the charge against the island was false (for otherwise both he himself and those who disembarked with him would have met with the same destruction), but that the disappearance of the light boat took place in some other way, since countless other ways were possible.

14. Carmania is last on the seaboard that begins at the Indus, though it is much more to the north than the outlet of the Indus. The first promontory of Carmania, however, extends out towards the

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* about 140 feet in length.

θάλατταν, ποιήσασα<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ἄκραν, ἐν ἀπόψει οὖσαν, κάμπτεται πρὸς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον, ἕως ἂν συνάψῃ τῇ Περσίδι· πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἐν<sup>2</sup> τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ἐστὶν ἐκτεινομένη μεταξὺ τῆς Γεδρωσίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος, παραλλάττουσα πλέον τῆς Γεδρωσίας πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον. δηλοῖ δ' ἡ εὐκαρπία· καὶ γὰρ πάμφορος καὶ μεγαλόδενδρος πλήν ἐλαίας καὶ ποταμοῖς κατάρρυτος. ἡ δὲ Γεδρωσία διαφέρει μικρὸν τῆς τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ὥστ' ἀκαρπία κατέχει πολλάκις· διὸ φυλάττουσι τὸν ἐνιαύσιον καρπὸν εἰς ἔτη πλείω ταμιευόμενοι. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ λέγει ποταμὸν ἐν τῇ Καρμανίᾳ καταφέροντα ψήγματα χρυσοῦ· καὶ ὀρυκτοῦ δὲ εἶναι μέταλλον καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ μίλτου· ὄρη τε εἶναι δύο, τὸ μὲν ἀρσενικοῦ, τὸ δὲ αἰλός. ἔχει δὲ τινα καὶ ἔρημον συνάπτουσιν ἤδη τῇ Παρθυαίᾳ καὶ τῇ Παραϊτακηνῇ. γεώργια δ' ἔχει παραπλήσια τοῖς Περσικοῖς, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἄμπελον· ταύτης δ' ἡ Καρμανία λεγομένη παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ δίπηχυν ἔχει πολλάκις τὸν βότρυν, πυκνόρρωγά C 727 τε ὄντα καὶ μεγαλόρρωγα, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖ εὐερνεστέραν εἶναι. χρώνται δ' ὄνοις οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον σπάνει τῶν ἵππων· ὄνον τε θύουσι τῷ Ἄρει, ὅνπερ καὶ<sup>3</sup> σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολεμισταί. γαμεῖ δ' οὐδεὶς, πρὶν ἂν πολεμίου

<sup>1</sup> ποιήσασα, Kramer, for ποιήσας.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν, E inserts.

<sup>3</sup> ὅνπερ καί, Corais, from conj. of Bertram, for ὃν πέρσαι.

<sup>1</sup> So the Greek word, but of course Strabo means yellow orpiment (arsenic trisulphide).



south into the great sea; and Carmania, after forming, along with the cape that extends from Arabia Felix, which is in full view, the mouth of the Persian Gulf, bends towards the Persian Gulf until it borders on Persis. Carmania is a large country and, in the interior, extends between Gedrosia and Persis, although it deviates more towards the north than Gedrosia. This is plainly indicated by its fruitfulness; for it produces all manner of fruits, is full of large trees except the olive, and is also watered by rivers. Gedrosia differs but little from the country of the Ichthyophagi, and therefore often suffers crop failures; and on this account they keep the annual crop in storage, dealing it out for several years. Onesicritus speaks of a river in Carmania that brings down gold-dust; and he says that there are also mines of silver and copper and ruddle, and also that there are two mountains, one consisting of arsenic<sup>1</sup> and the other of salt. Carmania also has a desert which borders at once<sup>2</sup> upon Parthia and Paraetacenê. And it has farm crops similar to those of the Persians, the vine among all the rest. It is from this vine that "the Carmanian," as we here call it, originated—a vine which often has clusters of even two cubits,<sup>3</sup> these clusters being thick with large grapes; and it is reasonable to suppose that this vine is more flourishing there than here. Because of scarcity of horses most of the Carmanians use asses, even for war; and they sacrifice an ass to Ares, the only god they worship, and they are a warlike people. No one marries before he has cut

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* at its north-western corner.

<sup>3</sup> In circumference, surely.

κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν ἀνενέγκη ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ τὸ κρανίον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀνατίθησι, τὴν δὲ γλῶτταν λεπτοτομήσας καὶ<sup>1</sup> καταμίξας ἀλεύρῳ, γευσάμενος αὐτὸς δίδωσι τῷ ἀνενέγκαντι καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις κατασιτήσασθαι· ἐνδοξότατος δ' ἐστίν, ὃ πλεῖστα κεφαλαὶ ἀνενέχθησαν. Νέαρχος δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα ἔθνη καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν Καρμανιτῶν Περσικά τε καὶ Μηδικὰ εἴρηκε. τὸ δὲ στόμα τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου οὐ<sup>2</sup> μείζον διάρματος ἡμερησίου.

## III

1. Μετὰ δὲ Καρμανίαν ἢ Περσίς ἐστι, πολλὴ μὲν ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀνομαζομένου κόλπου, πολὺ δὲ μείζων ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ μῆκος τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου καὶ τῆς Καρμανίας ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὰ περὶ Μηδίαν ἔθνη. τριττὴ<sup>3</sup> δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀέρων κράσει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ παραλία καυματηρά τε καὶ ἀμμώδης<sup>4</sup> καὶ σπανιστὴ καρποῖς ἐστὶ πλὴν φοινίκων (ὅσον ἐν τετρακισχιλίοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἢ τριακοσίοις ἐξεταζομένη σταδίοις, καταστρέφουσα εἰς ποταμὸν μέγιστον τῶν ταύτη, καλούμενον Ὀρόατιν)· ἡ δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἐστὶ πάμφορος καὶ πεδινὴ καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀρίστη τροφός, ποταμοῖς τε καὶ λίμναις πληθύνει. τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς βορρᾶν χειμέριος καὶ ὀρεινὴ· πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς εἰσιν οἱ καμηλοβοσκοί. μῆκος

<sup>1</sup> καί, added by vz and the editors.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ, inserted by Corais.

<sup>3</sup> τριττὴ Ex, τρίτη other MSS.

off the head of an enemy and brought it to the king; and the king stores the skull in the royal palace; and he then minces the tongue, mixes it with flour, tastes it himself, and gives it to the man who brought it to him, to be eaten by himself and family; and that king is held in the highest repute to whom the most heads have been brought. Nearchus states that the language and most of the customs of the Carmanians are like those of the Medes and Persians. The voyage across the mouth of the Persian Gulf requires no more than one day.

### III

1. After Carmania one comes to Persis. A large portion of this country lies on the seaboard of the gulf which is named after it, but a much larger portion of it lies in the interior, particularly in the direction of its length, that is, from the south and Carmania towards the north and the tribes of Media. Persis is of a threefold character, both in its nature and in the temperature of its air. For, in the first place, its seaboard is burning hot, sandy, and stinted of fruits except dates (its length is reckoned at about forty-four, or forty-three, hundred stadia, and it terminates at the largest of the rivers in that part of the world, the Oroatis, as it is called); secondly, the portion above the seaboard produces everything, is level, and is excellent for the rearing of cattle, and also abounds with rivers and lakes; the third portion, that on the north, is wintry and mountainous; and it is on the borders of this portion that the camel-breeders live. Now, according to Eratos-

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\* ἀμμώδης, Tyrwhitt, for ἀνεμώδης; so the later editors.

μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ κατ' Ἑρατοσθένη τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους καὶ τὰς Κασπίους πύλας περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, κατὰ τινὰς προπιπτούσας ἄκρας, λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Κασπίους πύλας οὐ πλεῖον ἢ τῶν δισχιλίων· πλάτος δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ ἀπὸ Σούσων εἰς Περσέπολιν<sup>1</sup> στάδιοι τετρακισχίλιοι διακόσιοι, κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Καρμανίας ὄρους ἄλλοι χίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι. φῦλα δὲ<sup>2</sup> οἰκεῖ τὴν χώραν οἱ τε Πατεισχορεῖς λεγόμενοι καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιμενίδαι καὶ οἱ Μάγοι· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σεμνοῦ τινός εἰσι βίου ζηλωταί, Κύρτιοι δὲ καὶ Μάρδοι<sup>3</sup> ληστρικοί, ἄλλοι δὲ γεωργικοί.

2. Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ Σουσίς μέρος γεγέννηται τῆς Περσίδος, μεταξὺ αὐτῆς κειμένη καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, ἔχουσα πόλιν ἀξιολογωτάτην τὰ Σούσα. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι κρατήσαντες Μήδων καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, ὀρῶντες τὴν μὲν οἰκείαν γῆν ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις που ταπτομένην, τὴν δὲ Σουσίδα ἐνδοτέρῳ καὶ πλησιαιτέρῳ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἐνταῦθα ἔθεντο τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας βασίλειον· ἅμα καὶ τὸ ὁμορον τῆς χώρας ἀποδεξάμενοι καὶ τὸ  
C 728 ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ κρεῖττον τὸ μηδέποτε καθ' ἑαυτὴν τὴν Σουσίδα πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐπήβολον γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ὑφ' ἐτέροις ὑπάρξαι καὶ ἐν μέρει τετάχθαι<sup>4</sup> συστήματος μείζονος, πλὴν εἰ ἄρα τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ἥρωας. λέγεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ κτίσμα Τιθωνοῦ Μέμνονος πατρός, κύκλον ἔχουσα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίῳν,

<sup>1</sup> Περσέπολις E, Περσαίπολις other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> δέ, the editors, for τε.

<sup>3</sup> Μάρδοι, Casaubon, for Μαραοί.

<sup>4</sup> τέταχθαι, Corais, for τέτακται.

thenes, the length of the country towards the north and the Caspian Gates is about eight thousand stadia, if reckoned from certain promontories,<sup>1</sup> and the remainder to the Caspian Gates is not more than two thousand stadia;<sup>2</sup> and the breadth, in the interior, from Susa to Persepolis, is four thousand two hundred stadia, and thence to the borders of Carmania sixteen hundred more. The tribes which inhabit the country are the Pateischoreis, as they are called, and the Achaemenidae and the Magi. Now the Magi follow with zeal a kind of august life, whereas the Cyrtii and the Mardi are brigands and others are farmers.

2. I might almost say that Susis also is a part of Persis; it lies between Persis and Babylonia and has a most notable city, Susa. For the Persians and Cyrus, after mastering the Medes, saw that their native land was situated rather on the extremities of their empire, and that Susa was farther in and nearer to Babylonia and the other tribes, and therefore established the royal seat of their empire at Susa. At the same time, also, they were pleased with the high standing of the city and with the fact that its territory bordered on Persis, and, better still, with the fact that it had never of itself achieved anything of importance, but always had been subject to others and accounted merely a part of a larger political organisation, except, perhaps, in ancient times, in the times of the heroes. For Susa too is said to have been founded by Tithonus the father of Memnon, with a circuit of one hundred and

<sup>1</sup> The text seems to be corrupt. A clearer statement of this same dimension, as quoted from Eratosthenes, is given in 2. 1. 26.

<sup>2</sup> In 2. 1. 26 the text reads "about *three* thousand stadia."

παραμήκης τῷ σχήματι· ἡ δ' ἀκρόπολις ἐκαλεῖτο Μεμνόνιον· λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κίσσιοι οἱ Σούσιοι· φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὴν μητέρα Μέμνονος Κισσίαν. ταφῆναι δὲ λέγεται Μέμνων περὶ Πάλτον τῆς Συρίας παρὰ Βαδᾶν ποταμόν, ὡς εἶρηκε Σιμωνίδης ἐν Μέμνονι διθυράμβῳ τῶν Δηλιακῶν. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὠκοδόμητο τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ βασιλεία παραπλησίως, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, καθάπερ εἰρήκασί τινες. Πολύκλειτός τε διακοσίων φησὶ τὸν κύκλον καὶ ἀτείχιστον.

3. Κοσμήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις βασιλεία μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων, οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ ἐν Περσεπόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐξετίμησαν· καὶ ἡ γε γάζα καὶ οἱ θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ μνήματα ἐνταῦθα ἦν τοῖς Πέρσαις, ὡς ἐν τόποις ἐρυμνοτέροις καὶ ἅμα προγονικοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα βασιλεία τὰ ἐν Γάβαις ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω που μέρεσι τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ταόκην<sup>1</sup> λεγομένην. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο, ὡς εἰκός, εὐτελεστέροις τισίν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς Περσίδος ἡλαττωμένης ὑπὸ τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ βασιλεύονται μέχρι νῦν ἴδιον βασιλέα ἔχοντες οἱ Πέρσαι, τῇ γε δυνάμει πλεῖστον ἀπολείπονται καὶ τῷ Παρθυαίων προσέχουσι βασιλεῖ.

4. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Σοῦσα ἐν μεσογαίοις κεῖται ἐπὶ τῷ Χοάσπῃ ποταμῷ περαιτέρω κατὰ τὸ ζεῦγμα,

<sup>1</sup> Ταόκην, Casaubon, for Ὀκην Dñ, Ὀκην (Ὀκὴν F), other MSS.

twenty stadia, and oblong in shape; and its acropolis was called Memnonium; and the Susians are also called Cissians; and Aeschylus<sup>1</sup> calls the mother of Memnon Cissia. Memnon is said to have been buried in the neighbourhood of Paltus in Syria, by the river Badas, as Simonides states in his dithyramb entitled *Memnon*, one of his Delian poems. The wall and the temples and the royal palace were built like those of the Babylonians, of baked brick and asphalt, as some writers state. Polycleitus says that the city is two hundred stadia in circuit and that it has no walls.

3. Although they adorned the palace at Susa more than any other, they esteemed no less highly the palaces at Persepolis and Pasargadae; at any rate, the treasure and the riches and the tombs of the Persians were there, since they were on sites that were at the same time hereditary and more strongly fortified by nature. And there were also other palaces—that at Gabae, somewhere in the upper parts of Persis, and that on the coast near Taocê, as it is called. These were the palaces in the time of the empire of the Persians, but the kings of later times used others, naturally less sumptuous, since Persis had been weakened, not only by the Macedonians, but still more so by the Parthians. For although the Persians are still under the rule of a king, having a king of their own, yet they are most deficient in power and are subject to the king of the Parthians.

4. Now Susa is situated in the interior on the Choaspes River at the far end of the bridge, but its

<sup>1</sup> *Persae* 17. 118.

ἡ δὲ χώρα μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καθήκει· καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἡ παραλία μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν σχεδόν τι τοῦ Τίγριος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Περσικῆς παραλίας σταδίων ὡς τρισχιλίων. ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁ Χοάσπης εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τελευτῶν παραλίαν, ἀπὸ τῶν Οὐξίων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων. παρεμπίπτει γάρ τις ὀρεινὴ τραχεῖα καὶ ὑπότομος μεταξὺ τῶν Σουσίων καὶ τῆς Περσίδος, στενὰ ἔχουσα δυσπάροδα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ληστάς, οἱ μισθοὺς ἐπράττοντο καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Σούσων εἰς Πέρσας εἰσβολήν. φησὶ δὲ Πολύκλειτος εἰς λίμνην τινὰ συμβάλλειν τὸν τε Χοάσπην καὶ τὸν Εὐλαιοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔτι τὸν Τίγριν, εἰτ' ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκδιδόναι· πρὸς δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ καὶ ἐμπόριον εἶναι, τῶν ποταμῶν μὲν οὐ δεχομένων τὰ ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, οὐδὲ καταπεμπόντων διὰ τοὺς καταράκτας ἐπίτηδες γενομένους, περὶ δ' ἐμπορευομένων· ὀκτακοσίους γὰρ εἶναι σταδίους εἰς Σούσα λέγουσιν.<sup>2</sup> ἄλλοι δέ φασι τοὺς διὰ Σουσίων ποταμοὺς εἰς ἓν ῥεῦμα τὸ τοῦ Τίγριος συμπίπτειν κατὰ<sup>3</sup> τὰς μεταξὺ διώρυγας τοῦ Εὐφράτου· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὀνομάζεσθαι Πασίτιγριν.

5. Νέαρχος δὲ τὸν παράπλου τῆς Σουσίδος τεναγώδῃ φήσας πέρας αὐτοῦ λέγει τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν· πρὸς δὲ τῷ στόματι κώμην οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν ὑποδεχομένην τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας φορτία· συνάπτειν γὰρ ἐφεξῆς τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων παραλίαν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Πασιτίγριος,

<sup>1</sup> CDohræz read Εὐλεον.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλοι, after λέγουσιν, Corais omits.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ, Corais and Meineke, for καί.



territory extends down to the sea; and its seaboard is about three thousand stadia in length, extending from the boundaries of the Persian seaboard approximately to the outlets of the Tigris. The Choaspes River flows through Susis, terminating at the same seaboard, and has its sources in the territory of the Uxii; for a kind of mountainous country intrudes between the Susians and Persis; it is rugged and sheer, and has narrow defiles that are hard to pass, and was inhabited by brigands, who would exact payments even from the kings themselves when they passed from Susis into Persis. Polycleitus says that the Choaspes, the Eulaeus, and also the Tigris meet in a kind of lake, and then empty from that lake into the sea; and that there is an emporium near the lake, since, on account of the cataracts, purposely constructed, the rivers cannot receive the merchandise that comes in from the sea nor bring down any either, and that all traffic is carried on by land; for the distance to Susa is said to be eight hundred <sup>1</sup> stadia. Others, however, say that the rivers which flow through Susis meet in one stream, that of the Tigris, opposite the intermediate canals of the Euphrates; and that on this account the Tigris, at its outlets, has the name of Pasitigris.<sup>2</sup>

5. Nearchus says that the coast of Persis is covered with shoal-waters and that it ends at the Euphrates River; and that at the mouth of this river there is an inhabited village which receives the merchandise from Arabia; for the seaboard of the Arabians borders next on the mouth of the Euphrates and the Pasiti-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for eighteen hundred.

<sup>2</sup> The Pasitigris, properly so called, is one of the rivers which flow from Susis (see Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 17. 1, *Ind.* 42. 4, and Pliny, 6. 129 and 145).

τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ πᾶν ἐπέχειν λίμνην, τὴν ὑποδεχομένην τὸν Τίγριν. ἀναπλεύσαντι δὲ τῷ Πασίτιγρει σταδίους πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, τὴν σχεδιάαν εἶναι τὴν ἄγουσαν ἐπὶ Σούσων ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος, ἀπέχουσιν Σούσων σταδίους ἐξήκοντα· τὸν δὲ Πασίτιγριν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀροάτιδος διέχειν περὶ δισχιλίους σταδίους· διὰ δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγριος τὸν ἀνάπλουν εἶναι σταδίων ἑξακοσίων· πλησίον δὲ τοῦ στόματος κώμην οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν Σουσιανήν, διέχουσιν τῶν Σούσων σταδίους πεντακοσίους· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος τὸν ἀνάπλουν εἶναι διὰ γῆς<sup>1</sup> οἰκουμένης καλῶς σταδίων πλειόνων ἢ τρισχιλίων. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ πάντας φησὶν ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τὴν λίμνην, τὸν τε Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγριν· ἐκπεσόντα δὲ πάλιν τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἰδίῳ στόματι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν συνάπτειν.

6. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλείω στενὰ διεκβάλλονται τὰ ἐν τοῖς Οὐξίοις κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν Περσίδα, ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ βία διήλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, κατὰ τε τὰς Περσικὰς πύλας καὶ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους διεξιὼν τὴν χώραν, καὶ κατοπτεῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ κυριώτατα μέρη καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια, ἃ τοσούτοις χρόνοις ἐξεπεπλήρωτο, οἷς ἐδασμολόγησαν Πέρσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν· ποταμοὺς δὲ διέβη πλείους τοὺς διαρρέοντας τὴν χώραν καὶ καταφερομένους εἰς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Χοάσπην ὁ Κοπράτας ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Πασίτιγρις, ὃς ἐκ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> γῆς, Tzschucke, from conj. of Casaubon, for τῆς.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for *six hundred*.

gris, the whole of the intervening space being occupied by a lake, that is, the lake that receives the Tigris; and that on sailing up the Pasitigris one hundred and fifty stadia one comes to the raft-bridge that leads from Persis to Susa, being sixty<sup>1</sup> stadia distant from Susa; and that the Pasitigris is about two thousand stadia distant from the Oroatis; and that the inland voyage on the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is six hundred stadia; and that near the mouth there is an inhabited Susian village,<sup>2</sup> which is five hundred stadia distant from Susa; and that the voyage inland from the mouth of the Euphrates to Babylon, through a very prosperous land, is more than three thousand stadia. Onesicritus says that all the rivers empty into the lake, both the Euphrates and the Tigris; but that the Euphrates, again issuing from the lake, joins with the sea by its own separate mouth.

6. There are also several other narrow defiles as one passes out through the territory of the Uxii in the neighbourhood of Persis itself; and Alexander forced his way through these passes too, both at the Persian Gates and at other places, when he was passing through the country and was eager to spy out the most important parts of the country, and the treasure-holds, which had become filled with treasures in those long periods of time in which the Persians had collected tribute from Asia; and he crossed several rivers that flowed through the country and down into the Persian Gulf. For after the Choaspes, one comes to the Copratas River and the Pasitigris, which latter also flows from the

<sup>2</sup> The name of this village, according to Arrian (*Indica* 42), was Aginis.

Οὐξίας καὶ αὐτὸς ῥεῖ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κῦρος ποταμός, διὰ τῆς κοίλης καλουμένης Περσίδος ῥέων περὶ Πασαργάδας, οὗ μετέλαβε τὸ ὄνομα βασιλεύς, ἀντὶ Ἀγραδάτου μετονομασθεὶς Κῦρος. πρὸς αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Περσεπόλει τὸν Ἀράξην διέβη. ἦν δὲ ἡ Περσέπολις<sup>1</sup> μετὰ Σοῦσα κάλλιστα κατεσκευασμένη μεγίστη πόλις,<sup>2</sup> ἔχουσα βασιλεία ἐκπρεπῇ, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν κειμένων. ῥεῖ δ' ὁ Ἀράξης ἐκ τῶν Παραιτακῶν.<sup>3</sup> συμβάλλει δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Μῆδος, ἐκ Μηδίας ὀρμηθεὶς. φέρονται δὲ δι' αὐλῶνος παμφόρου συνάπτοντος τῇ Καρμανίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἑωθινοῖς μέρεσι τῆς χώρας, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Περσέπολις. ἐνέπλησε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ἐν

C 730 Περσεπόλει<sup>4</sup> βασιλεία, τιμωρῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι κἀκείνων ἱερὰ καὶ πόλεις οἱ Πέρσαι πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ διεπόρθησαν.

7. Εἴτ' εἰς Πασαργάδας ἦκε· καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἦν βασιλείον ἀρχαῖον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Κύρου τάφον εἶδεν ἐν παραδείσῳ, πύργον οὐ μέγαν, τῷ δασεῖ τῶν δένδρων ἐναποκεκρυμμένον, κάτω μὲν στερεόν, ἄνω δὲ στέγην ἔχοντα καὶ σηκόν, στενὴν τελέως ἔχοντα τὴν εἴσοδον· δι' ἧς παρελθεῖν εἴσω φησὶν Ἀριστόβουλος, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ κοσμήσαι τὸν τάφον· ἰδεῖν δὲ κλίνην τε χρυσὴν καὶ τράπεζαν σὺν ἐκπώμασι καὶ πύελον χρυσὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα πολλὴν κόσμον τε λιθοκόλλητον· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἐπιδημίαν ταύτ' ἰδεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ συληθῆναι καὶ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Περσέπολις DEi, Περσαίπολις other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The words μετὰ . . . πόλις are found only in F.

<sup>3</sup> CDFh read Παρατάκων.

country of the Uxii. There is also a river Cyrus, which flows through Coelê<sup>1</sup> Persis, as it is called, in the neighbourhood of Pasargadae; and the king assumed the name of this river, changing his name from Agradatus to Cyrus. Alexander crossed the Araxes near Persepolis itself. Persepolis, next to Susa, was the most beautifully constructed city, and the largest, having a palace that was remarkable, particularly in respect to the high value of its treasures. The Araxes flows from the country of the Paraetaci; and this river is joined by the Medus, which has its source in Media. These rivers run through a very productive valley which borders on Carmania and the eastern parts of the country, as does also Persepolis itself. Alexander burnt up the palace at Persepolis, to avenge the Greeks, because the Persians had destroyed both temples and cities of the Greeks by fire and sword.

7. Alexander then went to Pasargadae; and this too was an ancient royal residence. Here he saw also, in a park, the tomb of Cyrus; it was a small tower and was concealed within the dense growth of trees. The tomb was solid below, but had a roof and sepulchre above, which latter had an extremely narrow entrance. Aristobulus says that at the behest of the king he passed through this entrance and decorated the tomb; and that he saw a golden couch, a table with cups, a golden coffin, and numerous garments and ornaments set with precious stones; and that he saw all these things on his first visit, but that on a later visit the place had been robbed

<sup>1</sup> Hollow.

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<sup>4</sup> Περσέπολις . . . Περσεπόλει DEh, Περσαίπολις . . . Περσαιπόλει other MSS.

μὲν ἄλλα ἐκκομισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ κλίνην θραυσθῆναι μόνον καὶ τὴν πύελον, μεταθέντων τὸν νεκρόν, δι' οὗ<sup>1</sup> δῆλον γενέσθαι, διότι προνομευτῶν ἔργον ἦν, οὐχὶ τοῦ σατράπου, καταλιπόντων ἃ μὴ δυνατόν ἦν ῥαδίως ἐκκομίσαι· συμβῆναι δὲ ταῦτα, καίπερ φυλακῆς περικειμένης Μάγων, σίτισιν λαμβανόντων καθ' ἡμέραν πρόβατον, διὰ μηνὸς δ' ἵππον. ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκτοπισμὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς εἰς Βάκτρα καὶ Ἰνδοὺς πολλά τε ἄλλα νεωτερισθῆναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν τῶν νεωτερισθέντων ὑπῆρξεν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος εἶρηκε, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἀπομνημονεύει τοῦτο· ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κῦρός εἰμι, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς Πέρσαις κτησάμενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς· μὴ οὖν φθονήσης μοι τοῦ μνήματος. Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ τὸν μὲν πύργον δεκάστεγον εἶρηκε, καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ στέγῃ κεῖσθαι τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπίγραμμα δ' εἶναι Ἑλληνικόν, Περσικοῖς κεχαραγμένον γράμμασιν· ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κῦρος βασιλεὺς βασιλίων· καὶ ἄλλο περσίζον πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν.

8. Μέμνηται δ' Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ<sup>2</sup> Δαρείου τάφῳ γράμμα τόδε· φίλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἵππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην·<sup>3</sup> κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν· πάντα ποιεῖν ἡδυνάμην. Ἀριστος δ' ὁ Σαλαμίνιος πολὺ μὲν ἐστὶ νεώτερος τούτων, λέγει δὲ δίστεγον τὸν πύργον καὶ μέγαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ

<sup>1</sup> δι' οὗ, Tyrwhitt, for δ' οὗ ; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ ποικ., τοῦ other MSS.

and everything had been carried off except the couch and the coffin, which had only been broken to pieces, and that the robbers had removed the corpse to another place, a fact which plainly proved that it was an act of plunderers, not of the satrap, since they left behind only what could not easily be carried off; and that the robbery took place even though the tomb was surrounded by a guard of Magi, who received for their maintenance a sheep every day and a horse every month.<sup>1</sup> But just as the remoteness of the countries to which Alexander's army advanced, Bactra and India, had led to numerous other revolutionary acts, so too this was one of the revolutionary acts. Now Aristobulus so states it, and he goes on to record the following inscription on the tomb: "O man, I am Cyrus, who acquired the empire for the Persians and was king of Asia; grudge me not, therefore, my monument." Onesicritus, however, states that the tower had ten stories and that Cyrus lay in the uppermost story, and that there was one inscription in Greek, carved in Persian letters, "Here I lie, Cyrus, king of kings," and another written in the Persian language with the same meaning.

8. Onesicritus records also the following inscription on the tomb of Dareius: "I was friend to my friends; as horseman and bowman I proved myself superior to all others; as hunter I prevailed; I could do everything." Aristus of Salamis is indeed a much later writer than these, but he says that the tower has only two stories and is large; that it was

<sup>1</sup> The horse, of course, was sacrificed to Cyrus (cf. Arrian 6. 29).

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<sup>2</sup> ἐγενόμην, Xylander, for γενόμην.

Περσῶν διαδοχῇ ιδρύσθαι, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ τὸν τάφον· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ λεχθὲν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἄλλο Περσικὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν. τοὺς δὲ Πασαργάδας ἐτίμησε Κῦρος, ὅτι τὴν ὑστάτην μάχην ἐνίκησεν Ἀστυάγην ἐνταῦθα τὸν Μῆδον, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μετήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ βασίλειον κατεσκεύασε τῆς νίκης μνημεῖον.

C 731 9. Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι χρήματα ἐξεσκευάσατο εἰς τὰ Σοῦσα, καὶ αὐτὰ θησαυρῶν καὶ κατασκευῆς μεστά· οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἡγεῖτο τὸ βασίλειον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διενοεῖτο ταύτην προσκατασκευάζειν· κἀνταῦθα δ' ἔκειντο θησαυροί. φασὶ δέ, χωρὶς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν παρὰ<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὴ ληφθέντων αὐτὰ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν Περσίδι τέτταρας μυριάδας ταλάντων ἐξετασθῆναι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ πέντε λέγουσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ πάντα πάντοθεν συναχθῆναι παραδεδώκασιν εἰς Ἑκβάτανα ὀκτωκαίδεκα μυριάδας ταλάντων· τὰ δὲ Δαρείῳ φυγόντι ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας συνεκκομισθέντα τέλαντα ὀκτακισχίλια διήρπασαν οἱ δολοφονήσαντες αὐτόν.

10. Τὴν γοῦν Βαβυλῶνα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος προέκρινεν, ὁρῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει πολὺ ὑπερβάλλουσαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. εὐδαίμων δ' οὔσα ἢ Σουσίς, ἔκπυρον τὸν ἀέρα ἔχει καὶ<sup>2</sup> καυματηρόν, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὥς φησιν ἐκεῖνος·

<sup>1</sup> παρὰ, Corais, for περὶ.

<sup>2</sup> καί, added by Eἰω and the editors.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. when the empire passed from the Medes to the Persians.



built at the time of the succession of the Persians,<sup>1</sup> and that the tomb was kept under guard; and that there was one inscription written in Greek, that quoted above, and another written in the Persian language with the same meaning. Cyrus held Pasargadae in honour, because he there conquered Astyages the Mede in his last battle, transferred to himself the empire of Asia, founded a city, and constructed a palace as a memorial of his victory.

9. Alexander carried off with him all the wealth in Persis to Susa, which was also full of treasures and equipment; and neither did he regard Susa as the royal residence, but rather Babylon, which he intended to build up still further; and there too treasures lay stored. They say that, apart from the treasures in Babylon and in the camp, which were not included in the total, the value of those in Susa and Persis alone was reckoned at forty thousand talents, though some say fifty; and others have reported that all treasures from all sources were brought together at Ecbatana and that they were valued at one hundred and eighty thousand talents; and the treasures which were carried along with Dareius in his flight from Media, eight thousand talents in value, were taken as booty by those who slew him.

10. At all events, Alexander preferred Babylon, since he saw that it far surpassed the others, not only in its size, but also in all other respects. Although Susis is fertile, it has a hot and scorching atmosphere, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the city, according to that writer.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, he says that

<sup>2</sup> Whether Aristobulus or Nearchus or Onesicritus, the translator does not know.

τὰς γοῦν σαύρας καὶ τοὺς ὄφεις, θέρους ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, διαβῆναι μὴ φθάνειν τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις περιφλέγεσθαι· ὅπερ τῆς Περσίδος μηδαμοῦ συμβαίνειν, καίπερ νοτιωτέρας οὔσης· λουτρὰ δὲ ψυχρὰ προτεθέντα ἐκθερμαίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα, τὰς δὲ κριθὰς διασπαρείσας εἰς τὸν ἥλιον ἄλλεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἵπνοῖς τὰς κίχρυν·<sup>2</sup> διὸ καὶ ταῖς στέγαις ἐπὶ δύο πήχεις τὴν γῆν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βάρους ἀναγκάζεσθαι στενοὺς μὲν μακροὺς<sup>3</sup> δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς οἴκους, ἀπορουμένους μακρῶν μὲν δοκῶν, δεομένους δὲ μεγάλων οἴκων διὰ τὸ πνιγος. ἴδιον δέ τι πάσχειν τὴν φοινικίνην δοκόν· στερεὰν γὰρ οὔσαν, παλαιουμένην οὐκ εἰς τὸ κάτω τὴν ἔνδοσιν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος κυρτοῦσθαι τῷ βάρει καὶ βέλτιον ἀνέχειν τὴν ὀροφήν. αἴτιον δὲ τῶν καυμάτων λέγεται τὸ ὑπερκεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄρκτον ὄρη ὑψηλὰ τὰ προεκδεχόμενα ἅπαντας τοὺς βορείους ἀνέμους· ὑπερπετεῖς δὴ πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων μετέωροί τε τῶν πεδίων οὐ προσάπτονται, ἀλλὰ παρελαύνουσιν<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὰ νοτιώτερα τῆς Σουσίδος· αὕτη δὲ νηνεμίαις κατέχεται, καὶ μάλιστα τότε, ἡνίκα ἐτησίαι τὴν ἄλλην γῆν καταψύχουσιν ἐκκαομένην ὑπὸ τῶν καυμάτων.

11. Πολύσιτος δ' ἄγαν ἐστίν, ὥστε ἑκατοντάχουν δι' ὀμαλοῦ καὶ κριθὴν καὶ πυρὸν ἐκτρέφειν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διακοσιοντάχουν· διόπερ

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλεσθαι, Corais and Meineke, who cite Plutarch (*Al. x.* 35) and Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 8. 11), for ἀλήθεσθαι μορ, ἀλεαίνεσθαι other MSS.

when the sun is hottest, at noon, the lizards and the snakes could not cross the streets in the city quickly enough to prevent their being burnt to death in the middle of the streets. He says that this is the case nowhere in Persis, although Persis lies more to the south; and that cold water for baths is put out in the sun and immediately heated, and that barley spread out in the sun bounces like parched barley in ovens; and that on this account earth is put on the roofs of the houses to the depth of two cubits, and that by reason of this weight the inhabitants are forced to build their houses both narrow and long; and that, although they are in want of long beams, yet they need large houses on account of the suffocating heat; and that the palm-tree beam has a peculiar property, for, although it is rigid, it does not, when aged, give way downwards, but curves upwards because of the weight and better supports the roof. It is said that the cause of the heat is the fact that lofty mountains lie above the country on the north and that these mountains intercept all the northern winds. Accordingly, these winds, blowing aloft from the tops of the mountains and high above the plains, do not touch the plains, although they blow on the more southerly parts of Susis. But calm prevails here, particularly at the time when the Etesian winds cool the rest of the land that is scorched by heat.

11. Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that both barley and wheat regularly produce one hundred-fold, and sometimes even two hundred; on this

<sup>2</sup> *κάχρυς*, F Epit., *κάγχρυς* E, *κέγκρυς* CDh, *κέγχρους* μοσχ.

<sup>3</sup> Xylander and Tzschucke emend *μακρούς* to *μικρούς*.

<sup>4</sup> E reads *προσελαύνουσι*.

οὐδὲ πυκνάς τὰς αὐλάκας τέμνουσι· πυκνού-  
 μεναι γὰρ κωλύουσιν αἱ ῥίζαι τὴν βλάστην. τὴν  
 δ' ἄμπελον οὐ φυομένην πρότερον Μακεδόνες  
 κατεφύτευσαν καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, οὐ  
 ταφρεύοντες, ἀλλὰ παττάλους κατασεσιδηρω-  
 μένους<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἄκρων πῆττοντες, εἴτ' ἐξαιροῦντες,  
 ἀντὶ δ' αὐτῶν τὰ κλήματα καθιέντες εὐθέως. ἡ  
 μὲν δὴ μεσόγαια<sup>2</sup> τοιαύτη· ἡ δὲ παραλία τενα-  
 γώδης ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλίμενος· διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καί  
 φησιν ὁ Νέαρχος μηδὲ καθοδηγῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 τυγχάνειν, ἡνίκα τῷ στόλῳ παρέπλει πρὸς τὴν  
 Βαβυλωνίαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ὅτι προσόρμους οὐκ  
 εἶχεν,<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων εὐπορεῖν οἷός τ' ἦν τῶν  
 ἡγησομένων κατ' ἐμπειρίαν.

12. Γειτνιά δὲ τῇ Σουσίδι τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἡ  
 Σιτακηνὴ μὲν πρότερον, Ἀπολλωνιάτις δὲ ὕστε-  
 ρον προσαγορευθεῖσα. ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων δ'  
 ὑπέρκεινται ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἑω Ἑλυμαῖοί τε καὶ  
 Παραιτακηνοί, ληστρικοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ὀρεινῇ  
 τραχείᾳ πεποιθότες· μᾶλλον δ' οἱ Παραιτακηνοὶ  
 τοῖς Ἀπολλωνιάταις ἐπείκεινται, ὥστε καὶ χεῖρον  
 ἐκείνους διατιθέασιν. οἱ δὲ Ἑλυμαῖοι καὶ ἐκείνοις  
 καὶ τοῖς Σουσίοις, τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ Οὔξιοι  
 προσπολεμοῦσιν· ἦττον δὲ νῦν, ὥς εἰκός, διὰ  
 τὴν τῶν Παρθυαίων ἰσχύν, ὑφ' οἷς εἰσιν ἅπαντες  
 οἱ ταύτη. εὐ μὲν οὖν πραττόντων ἐκείνων, εὐ

<sup>1</sup> κατασεσιδηρωμένους, Kramer, from conj. of Corais, for  
 ἄτε σεσιδηρωμένους CDFhi (moz omits ἄτε), κατεσεσιδηρω-  
 μένους other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The words τοιαύτη . . . γοῦν are transferred to this  
 position by Corais, Groskurd and Meineke (Kramer ap-  
 proving) from their position in the MSS. after τοιαύτη at  
 end of § 12. Instead of these words the MSS. read (after

account, also, the people do not cut the furrows close together, for the crowding of the roots hinders the sprouting. The vine did not grow there until the Macedonians planted it, both there and at Babylon; however, they did not dig trenches, but only thrust into the ground iron-pointed stakes, and then pulled them out and replaced them at once with the plants. Such, then, is the interior; but the sea-board is full of shallows and without harbours. On this account, at any rate, Nearchus goes on to say that he met with no native guides when he was sailing along the coast with his fleet from India to Babylonia; that the coast had no mooring-places, and that he was also unable to find any experienced people to guide him.

12. Neighbouring Susis is the part of Babylonia which was formerly called Sitacenê, but is now called Apolloniatis. Above both, on the north and towards the east, lie the countries of the Elymaei and the Paraetaceni, who are predatory peoples and rely on the ruggedness of their mountains. But the Paraetaceni are situated closer to the Apolloniatae, and therefore treat them worse. The Elymaei carry on war against both that people and the Susians, whereas the Uxii too carry on war against the Elymaei; but less so at the present time, in all probability, because of the might of the Parthians, to whom all the peoples in that part of the world are subject. Now when the Parthians fare well, all their subjects fare well too,

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μεσόγαια) the words πολλάκις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλας συνέβη, which, except for the form of the verb συνέβη, are repeated by the MSS. towards the end of § 12 and rightly omitted by the editors.

<sup>3</sup> εἶχεν, Kramer and later editors, for ἔχουν.

πράττουσιν ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὑπήκοοι αὐτῶν· στασιαζόντων δέ, ὅπερ συμβαίνει πολλάκις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως συμβαίνει καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ πᾶσι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνήνεγκεν ἡ ταραχή, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ γνώμην ἀπήντησεν. ἡ μὲν δὴ χώρα ἥ τε Περσὶς καὶ ἡ Σουσιανὴ τοιαύτη.

13. Τὰ δ' <sup>1</sup> ἔθῃ τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ τούτοις καὶ Μήδοις τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσι, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκασι μὲν πλείους, τὰ δὲ καίρια καὶ ἡμῖν λεκτέον. Πέρσαι τοίνυν ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ βωμοὺς οὐχ ἰδρύονται, θύουσι δ' ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ, τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡγούμενοι Δία· τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Ἡλίον, ὃν καλοῦσι Μίθρην, καὶ Σελήνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδωρ· θύουσι δ' ἐν καθαρῷ τόπῳ κατευξάμενοι, παραστησάμενοι τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐστεμμένον· μελίσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μάγου τὰ κρέα τοῦ ὑφηγουμένου τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἀπίασι διελόμενοι, τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἀπονείμαντες μέρος· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς φασὶ τοῦ ἱερείου δεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός· ὅμως δὲ τοῦ ἐπίπλου τι μικρὸν τιθέασιν, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ τινες, ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ.

14. Διαφερόντως δὲ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι θύουσι, τῷ μὲν πυρὶ, προστιθέντες ξηρὰ ξύλα τοῦ λέπους χωρίς, πιμελὴν ἐπιτιθέντες ἄνωθεν· εἴθ' ὑφάπτουσιν, ἔλαιον καταχέοντες, οὐ φυσῶντες, ἀλλὰ ῥιπίζοντες· τοὺς δὲ φυσήσαντας ἢ νεκρὸν ἐπὶ πῦρ θέντας <sup>2</sup> ἢ βόλβιτον θανατοῦσι· τῷ δ'

<sup>1</sup> δ', Corais and later editors insert.

<sup>2</sup> Dhi read ἐπιθέντας.

but when there is an insurrection, as is often the case, even indeed in our own times, the results are different at different times and not the same for all; for some have benefited by disturbances, whereas others have been disappointed in their expectations. Such, then, are the countries of Persis and Susis.

13. But the Persian customs are the same as those of these peoples and the Medes and several other peoples; and while several writers have made statements about all these peoples, I too must tell what is suitable to my purpose. Now the Persians do not erect statues or altars, but offer sacrifice on a high place, regarding the heavens as Zeus; and they also worship Helius,<sup>1</sup> whom they call Mithras, and Selenê<sup>2</sup> and Aphroditê, and fire and earth and winds and water;<sup>3</sup> and with earnest prayer they offer sacrifice in a purified place, presenting the victim crowned;<sup>4</sup> and when the Magus, who directs the sacrifice, has divided the meat the people go away with their shares, without setting apart a portion for the gods, for they say that the god requires only the soul of the victim and nothing else; but still, according to some writers, they place a small portion of the caul upon the fire.

14. But it is especially to fire and water that they offer sacrifice. To fire they offer sacrifice by adding dry wood without the bark and by placing fat on top of it; and then they pour oil upon it and light it below, not blowing with their breath, but fanning it; and those who blow the fire with their breath or put anything dead or filthy upon it are put to

<sup>2</sup> The Moon.

<sup>3</sup> So Herodotus 1. 131.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus (1. 132) says that he who offers the sacrifice wears a crown.

C 733 ὕδατι, ἐπὶ λίμνην ἢ ποταμὸν ἢ κρήνην ἐλθόντες, βόθρον ὀρύξαντες εἰς τοῦτον σφαγιάζονται, φυλαττόμενοι, μή τι τοῦ πλησίου ὕδατος αἰμαχθείη, ὥς μιανοῦντες· εἴτ' ἐπὶ μυρρίνην ἢ δάφνην διαθέντες τὰ κρέα, ῥάβδοις λεπτοῖς ἐφάπτονται οἱ Μάγοι καὶ ἐπάδουσιν, ἀποσπένδοντες ἔλαιον ὁμοῦ γάλακτι καὶ μέλιτι κεκραμένον οὐκ εἰς πῦρ, οὐδ' <sup>1</sup> ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦδαφος· τὰς δ' ἐπὶ ὁδὸν ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες.

15. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ (πολὺ γὰρ <sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖ <sup>3</sup> ἐστι τὸ τῶν Μάγων φύλον, οἳ καὶ Πύραιθοι καλοῦνται· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ἱερά) οὐδὲ μαχαίρα θύουσιν, ἀλλὰ κορμῷ τινι, ὥς ἂν ὑπέρῳ τύπτουντες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Πυραιθεῖα, σηκοί τινες ἀξιόλογοι· ἐν δὲ τούτοις μέσοις βωμός, ἐν ᾧ πολλή τε σποδός, καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάττουσιν οἱ Μάγοι· καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσιόντες, ἐπάδουσιν ὥραν σχεδόν τι, πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν δέσμην τῶν ῥάβδων ἔχοντες, τιάρας περικείμενοι πιλωτάς, καθεικυίας ἐκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χεῖλη τὰς παραγναθίδας. ταῦτα <sup>4</sup> δ' ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀναίτιδος <sup>5</sup> καὶ τοῦ Ὠμάνου ἱεροῖς νενόμισται· τούτων δὲ καὶ σηκοί εἰσι, καὶ ξόανον τοῦ Ὠμάνου πομπεύει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑώρακαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' α, οὐχ other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of γάρ, Dh read μάλλον.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖ, Meineke inserts, omitting ἐστι; Jones, however, retains the ἐστι, following Groskurd and Kramer.

<sup>4</sup> ταῦτά, Corais, for ταῦτα.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀναίτιδος, Xylander, ναίτιδος.



death. And to water they offer sacrifice by going to a lake or river or spring, where, having dug a trench leading thereto, they slaughter a victim, being on their guard lest any of the water near by should be made bloody, believing that the blood would pollute the water; and then, placing pieces of meat on myrtle or laurel branches, the Magi touch them with slender wands and make incantations, pouring oil mixed with both milk and honey, though not into fire or water, but upon the ground; and they carry on their incantations for a long time, holding in their hands a bundle of slender myrtle wands.

15. In Cappadocia (for there the sect of the Magi, who are also called Pyraethi,<sup>1</sup> is large, and in that country are also many temples of the Persian gods), the people do not sacrifice victims with a sword either, but with a kind of tree-trunk, beating them to death as with a cudgel. They also have Pyraethia, noteworthy enclosures; and in the midst of these there is an altar, on which there is a large quantity of ashes and where the Magi keep the fire ever burning. And there, entering daily, they make incantations for about an hour, holding before the fire their bundle of rods and wearing round their heads high turbans of felt, which reach down over their cheeks far enough to cover their lips. The same customs are observed in the temples of Anaïtis and Omanus; and these temples also have sacred enclosures; and the people carry in procession a wooden statue of Omanus. Now I have seen this myself; but those other things, as also what follows, are recorded in the histories.

<sup>1</sup> Fire-kindlers.

16. Εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὐτ' οὐροῦσιν οὔτε νίπτονται Πέρσαι, οὐδὲ λούονται οὐδὲ νεκρὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἄλλα τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μυσαρῶν. ὅτῳ δ' ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρώτῳ τῷ πυρὶ εὐχονται.

17. Βασιλεύονται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ γένους· ὁ δ' ἀπειθῶν ἀποτμηθεὶς κεφαλὴν καὶ βραχίονα ρίπτεται. γαμοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ἅμα παλλὰς τρέφουσι πλείους πολυτεκνίας χάριν. τιθέασι δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἄθλα πολυτεκνίας κατ' ἔτος· τὰ δὲ τρεφόμενα μέχρι ἐτῶν τεττάρων οὐκ ἄγεται τοῖς γονεῦσιν εἰς ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ γάμοι κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας ἐπιτελοῦνται· παρέρχεται δ' ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον, προφαγὼν μῆλον ἢ καμήλου μυελόν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην.

18. Ἀπὸ δὲ πέντε ἐτῶν ἕως τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ παιδεύονται τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ ἱππάζεσθαι καὶ ἀληθεύειν, διδασκάλοις τε λόγων τοῖς σωφρονεστάτοις χρῶνται, οἱ καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀνάγοντες παραπλέκουσι, καὶ μέλους χωρὶς καὶ μετ' ὥδῃς ἔργα θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἀναδιδόντες. συνάγουσι δ' εἰς εἷα τόπον, ψόφῳ χαλκοῦ πρὸ ὄρθρου διεγείροντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἐξοπλισίαν ἢ θήραν· τάξαντες δ' ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ἡγεμόνα τῶν βασιλέως τινὰ  
C 734 παίδων αὐτοῖς ἢ σατράπου τρέχοντι κελεύουσιν ἔπεσθαι, χωρίον ἀφορίσαντες τριάκοντα ἢ τεττάρ-  
ράκοντα σταδίων. ἀπαιτοῦσι δὲ καὶ λόγον ἐκά-

<sup>1</sup> CD<sup>moxx</sup> read ἐκβάλλουσιν.

16. For the Persians neither urinate, nor wash themselves, in a river; nor yet bathe therein or cast therein anything dead or any other thing that is considered unclean. And to whatever god they offer sacrifice, to him they first offer prayer with fire.

17. They are governed by hereditary kings. And he who is disobedient has his head and arms cut off and his body cast forth. The men marry many wives, and at the same time maintain several concubines, for the sake of having many children. The kings set forth prizes annually for those who have the most children; but the children are not brought into the presence of their parents until they are four years old. Marriages are consummated at the beginning of the vernal equinox; and the bridegroom passes to the bridal chamber, having first eaten an apple or a camel's marrow, but nothing else during that day.

18. From five years of age to twenty-four they are trained to use the bow, to throw the javelin, to ride horseback, and to speak the truth; and they use as teachers of science their wisest men, who also interweave their teachings with the mythical element, thus reducing that element to a useful purpose, and rehearse both with song and without song the deeds both of the gods and of the noblest men. And these teachers wake the boys up before dawn by the sound of brazen instruments, and assemble them in one place, as though for arming themselves or for a hunt; and then they divide the boys into companies of fifty, appoint one of the sons of the king or of a satrap as leader of each company, and order them to follow their leader in a race, having marked off a distance of thirty or forty stadia. They require

στον μαθήματος, ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοφωτίαν καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ πλευρὰν ἀσκούντες, καὶ πρὸς καῦμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς ψῦχος καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ χειμάρρων διαβάσεις, ὥστ' ἄβροχα φυλάττειν καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἐσθήτα, καὶ ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ ἀγραυλεῖν καὶ καρποῖς ἀγρίοις χρῆσθαι, τερμίνθῳ, δρυοβαλάνοις, ἀχράδι. καλοῦνται<sup>1</sup> δ' οὗτοι Κάρδακες, ἀπὸ κλοπείας τρεφόμενοι· κάρδα γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρῶδες καὶ πολεμικὸν λέγεται. ἡ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιτα ἄρτος μετὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ μάζα καὶ κάρδαμον καὶ ἁλῶν χόνδρος καὶ κρέα ὅπτα ἢ ἐφθὰ ἐξ ὕδατος, ποτὸν δ' ὕδωρ. θηρεύουσι δὲ σαύνια ἀφ' ἵππων βάλλοντες καὶ τοξεύματα καὶ σφενδονοῦντες.<sup>2</sup> δείλης δὲ φυτουργεῖν καὶ ῥιζοτομεῖν ἀσκούσι καὶ ὀπλοποιεῖν καὶ λῖνα καὶ ἄρκυς φιλοτεχνεῖν. οὐχ ἅπτονται δὲ τῶν θηρευμάτων οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ κομίζειν οἴκαδε ἔθος. τίθεται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθλα δρόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐν τοῖς πεντάθλοις. κοσμοῦνται δ' οἱ παῖδες χρυσῷ, τὸ πυρωπὸν τιθεμένων ἐν τιμῇ· διὸ οὐδὲ νεκρῷ προσφέρουσι, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὸ πῦρ, κατὰ τιμὴν.

<sup>1</sup> Meineke, following conj. of Corais, Groskurd and Kramer, rejects the words καλοῦνται . . . λέγεται.

<sup>2</sup> σφενδονοῦντες, Meineke emends to σφενδονῶντες.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλων τῶν, Meineke, following Groskurd, inserts.

<sup>1</sup> The tree is the *Pistacia terebinthus*.

<sup>2</sup> This statement appears to be an interpolation (see critical note).

them also to give an account of each lesson, at the same time training them in loud speaking and in breathing, and in the use of their lungs, and also training them to endure heat and cold and rains, and to cross torrential streams in such a way as to keep both armour and clothing dry, and also to tend flocks and live outdoors all night and eat wild fruits, such as pistachio nuts,<sup>1</sup> acorns, and wild pears. These are called Cardaces, since they live on thievery, for "carda" means the manly and warlike spirit.<sup>2</sup> Their daily food after their gymnastic exercises consists of bread, barley-cake, cardamum,<sup>3</sup> grains of salt, and roasted or boiled meat; but their drink is water. They hunt by throwing spears from horse-back, and with bows and slings; and late in the afternoon they are trained in the planting of trees and in the cutting and gathering of roots<sup>4</sup> and in making weapons and in the art of making linen cloths and hunters' nets. The boys do not touch the meat of wild animals, though it is the custom to bring them home. Prizes are offered by the king for victory in running and in the four other contests of the pentathla.<sup>5</sup> The boys are adorned with gold, since the people hold in honour the fiery appearance of that metal; and on this account, in honour of its fiery appearance, they do not apply gold, just as they do not apply fire, to a dead body.

<sup>3</sup> The *Nasturtium orientale*, also called *Tropacolum majus*. The plant, a kind of cress, contains a pungent juice; and its seeds are prepared and eaten like our mustard.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* for medicinal purposes.

<sup>5</sup> The pentathla were (1) jumping, (2) discus-throwing, (3) running, (4) wrestling, and (5) javelin-throwing (if not boxing).

19. Στρατεύονται δὲ καὶ ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα, πεζοὶ τε καὶ ἵππεις· ἀγορᾶς δὲ οὐχ ἄπτονται, οὔτε γὰρ πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὠνοῦνται. ὀπλίζονται δὲ γέρρῳ ῥομβοειδεῖ, παρὰ<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὰς φαρέτρας σαγάρεις ἔχουσι καὶ κοπίδας, περὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ πύλημα πυργωτόν, θώραξ δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς φολιδωτός. ἐσθῆς δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι μὲν ἀναξυρίς τριπλῇ, χιτῶν δὲ χειριδωτός διπλοῦς ἕως γόνατος, ὁ ὑπενδύτης μὲν λευκός, ἀνθινός δ' ὁ ἐπάνω· ἱμάτιον δὲ θέρους μὲν πορφυροῦν ἢ ἀνθινόν, χειμῶνος δ' ἀνθινόν, τιᾶραι παραπλήσiai ταῖς τῶν Μάγων, ὑπόδημα κοῖλον διπλοῦν. τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χιτῶν ἕως μεσοκνημίου καὶ διπλοῦς, ῥάκος δὲ σινδόνιον τι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ· ἔχει δ' ἕκαστος τόξον καὶ σφενδόνην. δειπνοῦσι δὲ<sup>2</sup> πολυτελῶς Πέρσαι, τιθέντες καὶ ὀλομελῇ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα· κόσμος τε λαμπρὸς στρωμνῆς ἐκπωμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καταλάμπεσθαι.

20. Ἐν οἴνῳ τὰ μέγιστα βουλευόνται, καὶ βεβαιότερα τῶν ἐν νήψει τίθενται. τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς συναντώντων τοὺς μὲν γνωρίμους καὶ ἰσοτίμους φιλοῦσι προσιόντες,<sup>3</sup> τοῖς δὲ ταπεινότεροις παραβάλλουσι τὴν γνάθον καὶ δέχονται ταύτῃ τὸ φίλημα· οἱ δ' ἔτι ταπεινότεροι προσκυν-  
C 735 νοῦσι μόνον. θάπτουσι δὲ κηρῷ περιπλάσαντες τὰ σώματα, τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάπτουσιν, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> E reads περί.      <sup>2</sup> δέ, omitted by all MSS. except Eiz.

<sup>3</sup> προσίοντες D, προσίοντας other MSS.

19. They serve in the army and hold commands from twenty to fifty years of age, both as foot-soldiers and as horsemen; and they do not approach a market-place, for they neither sell nor buy. They arm themselves with a rhomboidal wicker-shield; and besides quivers they have swords and knives; and on their heads they wear a tower-like hat; and their breastplates are made of scales of iron. The garb of the commanders consists of three-ply trousers, and of a double tunic, with sleeves, that reaches to the knees, the under garment being white and the upper vari-coloured. In summer they wear a purple or vari-coloured cloak, in winter a vari-coloured one only; and their turbans are similar to those of the Magi; and they wear a deep double shoe. Most of the people wear a double tunic that reaches to the middle of the shin, and a piece of linen cloth round the head; and each man has a bow and a sling. Persians dine in an extravagant manner, serving whole animals in great numbers and of various kinds; and their couches, as also their drinking-cups and everything else, are so brilliantly ornamented that they gleam with gold and silver.

20. They carry on their most important deliberations when drinking wine; and they regard decisions then made as more lasting than those made when they are sober. When they meet people on the streets, they approach and kiss those with whom they are acquainted and who are of equal rank, and to those of lower rank they offer the cheek and in that way receive the kiss; but those of still lower rank merely make obeisance. They smear the bodies of the dead with wax before they bury them, though they do not bury the Magi but leave their

οἰωνοβρώτους<sup>1</sup> ἑῶσι· τούτοις δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νενόμισται. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἔθθ.

21. Ἔστι δ' ἴσως καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἐθίμων, ἃ φησι Πολύκριτος.<sup>2</sup> ἐν γὰρ Σούσοις ἐκάστῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἰδία πεποιῆσθαι οἴκησιν καὶ θησαυροὺς καὶ παραθέσεις ὧν ἐπράττοντο φόρων, ὑπομνήματα τῆς οἰκονομίας· πράττεσθαι δ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς παραλίας ἀργύριον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογαίας ἃ φέρει ἐκάστη χώρα, ὥστε καὶ χρώματα καὶ φάρμακα καὶ τρίχα ἢ<sup>3</sup> ἐρέαν ἢ τι τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον καὶ θρέμματα ὁμοίως. τὸν δὲ διατάξαντα τοὺς φόρους Δαρεῖον εἶναι, τὸν<sup>4</sup> Μακρόχειρα, καὶ κάλλιστον ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν τοῦ μήκους τῶν βραχιόνων καὶ τῶν πῆχεων· ἄπτεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τῶν γονάτων· τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐν κατασκευαῖς εἶναι, νομίσματι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ· πρὸς τε τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκεῖνα κεχαρισμένα νομίζειν μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς κειμηλίων ἀπόθεσιν· τὸ δὲ νόμισμα τὸ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀρκοῦν ἱκανὸν εἶναι, κόπτειν δὲ πάλιν τὸ τοῖς ἀναλώμασι σύμμετρον.

22. Τὰ γὰρ οὖν ἔθθ σωφρονικὰ τὰ πλείω· διὰ δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τρυφὴν ἐξέπεσον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὥστε πυρὸν μὲν ἐξ Ἄσσου τῆς Αἰολίδος μετήεσαν, οἶνον δ' ἐκ Συρίας τὸν Χαλυμώνιον, ὕδωρ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> οἰωνοβρώτους C, οἰωνοβάτους w, οἰωνοβοδούς other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> C. Müller (*Ind. Var. Lect.*, p. 1035) would emend Πολύκριτος to Πολύκλειτος (cp. reference to him in 15. 3. 2).

<sup>3</sup> ἢ, Kramer inserts (καί, Corais).

<sup>4</sup> τὸν Μακρόχειρα . . . γονάτων, Meineke, following conj. of Kramer, ejects.



bodies to be eaten by birds; and these Magi, by ancestral custom, consort even with their mothers. Such are the customs of the Persians.

21. Perhaps also the following, mentioned by Polycritus,<sup>1</sup> is one of their customs. He says that in Susa each one of the kings built for himself on the acropolis a separate habitation, treasure-houses, and storage places for what tributes they each exacted, as memorials of his administration; and that they exacted silver from the people on the sea-board, and from the people in the interior such things as each country produced, so that they also received dyes, drugs, hair, or wool, or something else of the kind, and likewise cattle; and that the king who arranged the separate tributes was Dareius, called the Long-armed, and the most handsome of men, except for the length of his arms, for they reached even to his knees;<sup>2</sup> and that most of the gold and silver is used in articles of equipment, but not much in money; and that they consider those metals as better adapted for presents and for depositing in storehouses; and that so much coined money as suffices their needs is enough; and that they coin only what money is commensurate with their expenditures.

22. For their customs are in general temperate; but on account of their wealth the kings fell into such luxury that they sent for wheat from Assus in Aeolis, for Chalymonian wine from Syria, and for

<sup>1</sup> An error, apparently, for Polycleitus (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> This is thought by various editors to be an interpolation (see critical note). Plutarch (*Artaxerxes* 1) refers to Artaxerxes as having been surnamed "Long-armed" because his right arm was longer than his left; but the above statement in regard to Dareius lacks corroboration.

ἐκ τοῦ Εὐλαίου πάντων ἐλαφρότατον, ὥστ' ἐν Ἀττικῇ κοτύλῃ δραχμῇ ἀφολκότερον εἶναι.

23. Συνέβη δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐνδοξοτάτοις γενέσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένες τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρξάντων Ἑλλήνων ἠρξαν, οὐδ' ἤδειςαν οὐδ' ἐκείνοι τούτους, οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν μόνον ἐκ τῆς πόρρωθεν ἀκοῆς. Ὀμηρος γοῦν οὔτε τὴν τῶν Συρῶν οὔτε τὴν τῶν Μήδων ἀρχὴν οἶδεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν, Θήβας Αἰγυπτίας ὀνομάζων καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πλοῦτον, τὸν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Νίνῳ<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἐκβατάνοις παρεσιώπησε. πρῶτοι δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐπῆρξαν, Λυδοὶ δὲ ἐπῆρξαν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὔτε τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης ἐπάρξαντες,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ μέρους τινὸς μικροῦ, τοῦ ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος μόνον, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον καὶ Ἀλυάττην. κρατηθέντες δ' ὑπὸ Περσῶν, εἰ καί τι τῆς δόξης ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἀφηρέτησαν τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων. Πέρσαι δ', ἀφ' οὗ κατέλυσαν τὰ Μήδων, εὐθὺς καὶ Λυδῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἕλληνας ὑπηκόους ἔσχον· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ διέβησαν C 736 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἡττηθέντες πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἀγῶσιν,<sup>3</sup> ὅμως διετέλεσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων κατέχοντες, ἕως ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων κατεπολεμήθησαν.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Νίνῳ, omitted by *moz*, Νείλῳ CDFH<sup>1</sup>W<sup>2</sup>X, Σούσοις *z*.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπάρξαντες, omitted by *moz*, Corais and Meineke.

water from the Eulaeus, which is so far the lightest of all waters that an Attic cotyle<sup>1</sup> of it weighs a drachm less than other waters.

23. The Persians, of all the barbarians, became the most famous among the Greeks, because none of the other barbarians who ruled Asia ruled Greeks; neither were these people acquainted with the Greeks nor yet the Greeks with the barbarians, except for a short time by distant hearsay. Homer, at any rate, knows neither of the empire of the Syrians nor of that of the Medes; for otherwise, since he names Aegyptian Thebes and mentions the wealth there and the wealth in Phoenicia, he would not have passed by in silence that in Babylon and Ninus and Ecbatana. The Persians were the first people to rule over Greeks. The Lydians had indeed ruled over Greeks, but not also over the whole of Asia—only over a small part of it, that inside the Halys River, and that too for only a short time, in the time of Croesus and Alyattes. But the Lydians were mastered by the Persians and deprived by them of whatever glory they had. The Persians, as soon as they broke up the power of the Medes, immediately mastered the Lydians and also got as their subjects the Greeks in Asia; and later they even crossed over into Greece; and, though often defeated in many battles, still they continued to hold Asia as far as the places on the sea until they were subdued by the Macedonians.

<sup>1</sup> Nearly half a pint.

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<sup>3</sup> F reads πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκοις (sic) ἀγῶσιν καὶ πολλάκις; τοὺς πολλοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ πολλάκις. Kramer and C. Müller would read πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσιν.

24. Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καταστήσας αὐτοὺς Κῦρος ἦν· διαδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον Καμβύσης υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Μάγων κατελύθη· τούτους δ' ἀνελόντες οἱ ἑπτὰ Πέρσαι Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπεως παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· εἶθ' οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου διαδεχόμενοι κατέληξαν εἰς Ἀρσην, ὃν ἀποκτείνας Βαγῶος ὁ εὐνοῦχος κατέστησε Δαρεῖον, οὐκ ὄντα τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων. τοῦτον δὲ καταλύσας Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς ἤρξε<sup>1</sup> δέκα ἢ ἑνδεκα ἔτη· εἴτ' εἰς πλείους τοὺς διαδεξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγόνους τούτων μερισθεῖσα ἡ ἡγεμονία τῆς Ἀσίας διελύθη· συνέμεινε δ' ὅσον πεντήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἔτη. νῦν δ' ἤδη καθ' αὐτοὺς συνεστῶτες οἱ Πέρσαι βασιλέας ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοους ἑτέροις βασιλεῦσι, πρότερον μὲν Μακεδόσι, νῦν δὲ Παρθυαίοις.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of δέκα, Dh and Corais read δώδεκα.

24. Now the man who established the Persians in their hegemony was Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who was deposed by the Magi. The Magi were slain by the Seven Persians, who then gave over the empire to Dareius, the son of Hystaspes. And then the successors of Dareius came to an end with Arses. Arses was slain by Bagoüs the eunuch, who set up as king another Dareius, who was not of the royal family. Him Alexander deposed, and reigned himself for ten or eleven years. And then the hegemony of Asia was divided amongst his several successors and their descendants, and then dissolved. The hegemony of the Persians over Asia lasted about two hundred and fifty years. But now, though again organised into a state of their own, the Persians have kings that are subject to other kings, formerly to the kings of Macedonia, but now to those of the Parthians.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus the Elder.



## BOOK XVI

1. Τῇ δὲ Περσίδι καὶ τῇ Σουσιανῇ συνάπτουσιν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς κύκλῳ γῆς, ἣς ἐν μέρει καὶ ἡ Ἀτουρία ἐστίν, ἐν ἧπερ ἡ Νίνος καὶ ἡ Ἀπολλωνιάτις καὶ Ἐλυμαῖοι καὶ Παραιτάκαι καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ Ζάγγρον<sup>1</sup> ὄρος Χαλωνίτις<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Νίνου πεδιά, Δολομηνή τε καὶ Καλαχηνή καὶ Χαζηνή καὶ Ἀδιαβηνή, καὶ τὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἔθνη τὰ περὶ Γοροδυαίους καὶ τοὺς περὶ Νίσιβιν Μυγδόνας μέχρι τοῦ Ζεύγματος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τῆς πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου πολλή,<sup>3</sup> ἦν Ἀραβες κατέχουσιν, καὶ οἱ ἰδίως ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν  
C 737 λεγόμενοι Σύροι μέχρι Κιλίκων καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Ἰουδαίων<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς κατὰ τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος καὶ τὸν Ἰσικὸν κόλπον.

2. Δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Σύρων ὄνομα διατεῖναι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσσικοῦ κόλπου, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μέχρι τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὸ παλαιόν. οἱ γοῦν Καππάδοκες ἀμφοτέρω, οἷ τε πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ, μέχρι νῦν Λευκό-

<sup>1</sup> Ζάδρον E, Ζάγγριον Dhix Tzschucke, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> Χαλωνίτις Casaubon, for Χαλωνίτης D, Χαωνίτις other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> πολλή, Kramer, for πολλῆς.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰουδαίων, in marg. FCz, for Λιβύων. Corais writes καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Λιβύων.



## BOOK XVI

### I

1. THE country of the Assyrians borders on Persis and Susiana. This name <sup>1</sup> is given to Babylonia and to much of the country all round, which latter, in part, is also called Aturia, in which are Ninus, Apolloniatis, the Elymaei, the Paraetacae, the Chalonitis in the neighbourhood of Mt. Zagrus, the plains in the neighbourhood of Ninus, and also Dolo-menê and Calachenê and Chazenê and Adiabenê, and the tribes of Mesopotamia in the neighbourhood of the Gordyaeans, and the Mygdonians in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, as far as the Zeugma <sup>2</sup> of the Euphrates, as also much of the country on the far side of the Euphrates, which is occupied by Arabians, and those people who in a special sense of the term are called by the men of to-day Syrians, who extend as far as the Cilicians and the Phœnicians and the Judaeans and the sea that is opposite the Aegyptian Sea and the Gulf of Issus.

2. It seems that the name of the Syrians extended not only from Babylonia to the Gulf of Issus, but also in ancient times from this gulf to the Euxine. At any rate, both tribes of the Cappadocians, both those near the Taurus and those near the Pontus, have to the present time been called "White

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "Assyria."

<sup>2</sup> Bridge.

συροι καλοῦνται, ὥς ἂν ὄντων τινῶν Σύρων καὶ μελάνων· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου· λέγω δὲ Ταῦρον, μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ διατείνων τοῦνομα. οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες τὴν Σύρων ἀρχὴν ὅταν φῶσι Μήδους μὲν ὑπὸ Περσῶν καταλυθῆναι, Σύρους δὲ ὑπὸ Μήδων, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς τοὺς Σύρους λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Νίνῳ κατεσκευασμένους τὸ βασίλειον· ὧν ὁ μὲν Νίνος ἦν ὁ τὴν Νίνον ἐν τῇ Ἀτουρίᾳ κτίσας, ἡ δὲ τούτου γυνή, ἥπερ καὶ διεδέξατο τὸν ἄνδρα, Σεμίραμις· ἥς ἐστι κτίσμα ἡ Βαβυλῶν. οὗτοι δὲ ἐκράτησαν τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος, χωρὶς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἔργων, πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν σχεδὸν δείκνυται, ὅση τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἐστί, τὰ τε χῶματα, ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σεμιράμιδος, καὶ τείχη καὶ ἐρυμάτων κατασκευαὶ καὶ συρίγγων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑδρείων καὶ κλιμάκων καὶ διωρύγων ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ γεφυρῶν. ἀπέλιπον δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τῆς Σαρδαναπάλου καὶ Ἀρβιάκου·<sup>2</sup> μετέστη δ' εἰς Μήδους ὕστερον.<sup>3</sup>

3. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Νίνος<sup>4</sup> πόλις ἠφανίσθη παραχρήμα μετὰ<sup>5</sup> τὴν τῶν Σύρων κατάλυσιν. πολὺν δὲ μείζων ἦν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη τῆς Ἀτουρίας· ἡ δ' Ἀτουρία τοῖς περὶ Ἀρβηλα τόποις ὁμορός<sup>6</sup> ἐστι, μεταξὺ ἔχουσα τὸν Λύκον ποταμόν. τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀρβηλα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὑπάρχει, ἃ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐστίν· ἐν δὲ τῇ περαίᾳ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> All MSS. except E read δέ after πολλά.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρβάκου, Casaubon, for Ὀρβάκου.

<sup>3</sup> D<sup>hi</sup> read σήμερον.

<sup>4</sup> Νίνων CDF<sup>hi</sup>ss.

<sup>5</sup> κατὰ Es.

Syrians,"<sup>1</sup> as though some Syrians were black, these being the Syrians who live outside the Taurus; and when I say "Taurus," I am extending the name as far as the Amanus. When those who have written histories of the Syrian empire say that the Medes were overthrown by the Persians and the Syrians by the Medes, they mean by the Syrians no other people than those who built the royal palaces in Babylon and Ninus; and, of these Syrians, Ninus was the man who founded Ninus in Aturia, and his wife, Semiramis, was the woman who succeeded her husband and founded Babylon. These two gained the mastery of Asia; and as for Semiramis, apart from her works at Babylon, many others are also to be seen throughout almost the whole of that continent, I mean the mounds called the Mounds of Semiramis, and walls, and the construction of fortifications with aqueducts therein, and of reservoirs for drinking-water, and of ladder-like ascents of mountains, and of channels in rivers and lakes, and of roads and bridges. And they left to their successors their empire until the time of the empires of Sardanapalus and Arbaces. But later the empire passed over to the Medes.

3. Now the city Ninus<sup>2</sup> was wiped out immediately after the overthrow of the Syrians.<sup>3</sup> It was much greater than Babylon, and was situated in the plain of Aturia. Aturia borders on the region of Arbela, with the Lycus River lying between them. Now Arbela, which lies opposite to Babylonia, belongs to that country; and in the country on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 12. 3. 9.<sup>2</sup> Nineveh.<sup>3</sup> 608 B.C.<sup>6</sup> *ῥμoρoς* Ezz, *ῥμoιoς* other MSS.

Λύκου τὰ τῆς Ἀτουρίας πεδία τῇ Νίνῳ περίκει-  
ται. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀτουρίᾳ ἐστὶ Γαυγάμηλα κώμη,  
ἐν ᾗ συνέβη νικηθῆναι καὶ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν  
Δαρεῖον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν τόπος ἐπίσημος οὗτος καὶ  
τοῦνομα, μεθερμηνευθὲν γάρ ἐστι καμήλου οἶκος·  
ὠνόμασε δ' οὕτω Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεω, κτῆμα  
δοὺς εἰς διατροφὴν τῇ καμήλῳ τῇ συνεκπεπονη-  
κυῖα μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου  
Σκυθίας μετὰ τῶν φορτίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ  
διατροφή τῷ βασιλεῖ. οἱ μὲντοι Μακεδόνες, τοῦτο  
μὲν ὁρῶντες κώμιον εὐτελές, τὰ δὲ Ἄρβηλα  
κατοικίαν ἀξιόλογον (κτίσμα, ὥς φασιν, Ἄρβηλου  
τοῦ Ἀθμονέως), περὶ Ἄρβηλα τὴν μάχην καὶ  
νίκην κατεφήμισαν καὶ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν οὕτω  
παρέδωκαν.

4. Μετὰ δὲ Ἄρβηλα καὶ τὸ Νικατόριον ὄρος  
(ὃ προσωνόμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος, νικήσας τὴν περὶ  
Ἄρβηλα μάχην) ὁ Κάπρος ἐστὶ ποταμὸς ἐν ἴσῳ  
C 738 διαστήματι, ὅσῳ καὶ ὁ Λύκος· ἡ δὲ χώρα Ἀρτα-  
κηνὴ<sup>1</sup> λέγεται. περὶ Ἄρβηλα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ  
Δημητριάς πόλις· εἴθ' ἡ τοῦ νάφθα πηγὴ καὶ τὰ  
πυρὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀνέας<sup>2</sup> ἱερὸν καὶ Σαδράκαι, τὸ  
Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεω βασίλειον, καὶ ὁ  
Κυπαρισσῶν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κάπρου διάβασις, συνάπ-  
τουσα ἤδη Σελευκείᾳ καὶ Βαβυλῶνι.

5. Ἡ δὲ Βαβυλῶν καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν  
πεδίῳ, τὸν δὲ κύκλον ἔχει τοῦ τείχους τριακοσίων  
ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε σταδίων, πάχος δὲ τοῦ τείχους

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρτακηνὴ is otherwise unknown. Groskurd conj. Ἄρβη  
ληνὴ (noting Ἀρβελίτις in Ptolemaeus 6. 1 and Pliny 6. 13.  
16); Kramer prefers Ἀδιαβηνή; C. Müller conj. Γαραμηνή.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνέας, Xylander and Kramer emend to Ἀκαίας; Corais  
conj. Ἀναΐτιδος.

far side of the Lycus River lie the plains of Aturia, which surround Ninus. In Aturia is a village Gaudamela, where Dareius was conquered and lost his empire. Now this is a famous place, as is also its name, which, being interpreted, means "Camel's House." Dareius, the son of Hystaspes, so named it, having given it as an estate for the maintenance of the camel which helped most on the toilsome journey through the deserts of Scythia with the burdens containing sustenance and support for the king. However, the Macedonians, seeing that this was a cheap village, but that Arbela was a notable settlement (founded, as it is said, by Arbelus, the son of Athmoneus), announced that the battle and victory took place near Arbela and so transmitted their account to the historians.

4. After Arbela and Mt. Nicatorium<sup>1</sup> (a name applied to it by Alexander after his victory in the neighbourhood of Arbela), one comes to the Caprus River, which lies at the same distance from Arbela as the Lycus. The country is called Artacenê.<sup>2</sup> Near Arbela lies the city Demetrias; and then one comes to the fountain of naphtha, and to the fires, and to the temple of Anea,<sup>3</sup> and to Sandracae, and to the royal palace of Dareius the son of Hystaspes, and to Cyparisson, and to the crossing of the Caprus River, where, at last, one is close to Seleuceia and Babylon.

5. Babylon, too, lies in a plain; and the circuit of its wall is three hundred and eighty-five stadia. The thickness of its wall is thirty-two feet; the

<sup>1</sup> "Mount of Victory."

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for Adiabênê (see 16. 1. 8 and 16. 1. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the same as the goddess Anaïtis (cf. 11. 8. 4 and 15. 3. 15).

ποδῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ὕψος δὲ τῶν μὲν μεσοπυργίων πήχεις πεντήκοντα, τῶν δὲ πύργων ἐξήκοντα, ἡ δὲ πάροδος τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε<sup>1</sup> τέθριππα ἐναντιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις ῥαδίως· διόπερ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θεαμάτων λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ κρεμαστὸς κήπος, ἔχων ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἐκάστην πλευρὰν τεττάρων πλέθρων· συνέχεται δὲ ψαλιδώμασι καμαρωτοῖς, ἐπὶ πεττῶν ἰδρυμένοις κυβοειδῶν ἄλλοις ἐπ' ἄλλοις· οἱ δὲ πεττοὶ κοῖλοι πλήρεις γῆς, ὥστε δέξασθαι φυτὰ δένδρων τῶν μεγίστων, ἐξ ὁπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ αἱ ψαλίδες καὶ τὰ καμαρώματα. ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτῳ στέγῃ προσβάσεις κλιμακωτὰς ἔχει, παρακειμένους δ' αὐταῖς καὶ κοχλίας, δι' ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνῆγον εἰς τὸν κήπον ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου συνεχῶς οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς διὰ μέσης ῥεῖ τῆς πόλεως σταδιαῖος τὸ πλάτος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ κήπος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Βήλου τάφος αὐτόθι, νῦν μὲν κατεσκαμμένος Ξέρξης δ' αὐτὸν κατέσπασεν, ὡς φασιν· ἦν δὲ πυραμὶς τετράγωνος ἐξ ὁπτῆς πλίνθου, καὶ αὕτῃ σταδιαία τὸ ὕψος, σταδιαία δὲ καὶ ἐκάστη τῶν πλευρῶν· ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐβούλετο ἀνασκευάσαι, πολὺ δ' ἦν ἔργον καὶ πολλοῦ χρόνου (αὕτῃ γὰρ ἡ χοῦς εἰς ἀνακάθαρσιν μυρίοις ἀνδράσι δυεῖν μηνῶν ἔργον ἦν), ὥστ' οὐκ ἔφθη τὸ ἐγχειρηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι· παραχρήμα γὰρ ἡ νόσος καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ συνέπεσε τῷ βασιλεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε Dhi, Corais, and Meineke, for ὡς.

height thereof between the towers is fifty cubits<sup>1</sup>; that of the towers is sixty cubits; and the passage on top of the wall is such that four-horse chariots can easily pass one another; and it is on this account that this and the hanging garden are called one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The garden is quadrangular in shape, and each side is four plethra in length. It consists of arched vaults, which are situated, one after another, on checkered, cube-like foundations. The checkered foundations, which are hollowed out, are covered so deep with earth that they admit of the largest of trees, having been constructed of baked brick and asphalt—the foundations themselves and the vaults and the arches. The ascent to the uppermost terrace-roofs is made by a stairway; and alongside these stairs there were screws, through which the water was continually conducted up into the garden from the Euphrates by those appointed for this purpose. For the river, a stadium in width, flows through the middle of the city; and the garden is on the bank of the river. Here too is the tomb of Belus, now in ruins, having been demolished by Xerxes, as it is said. It was a quadrangular pyramid of baked brick, not only being a stadium in height, but also having sides a stadium in length. Alexander intended to repair this pyramid; but it would have been a large task and would have required a long time (for merely the clearing away of the mound was a task for ten thousand men for two months), so that he could not finish what he had attempted; for immediately the king was overtaken by disease and death. None of his successors

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the account of Herodotus (1. 178), who gives much larger dimensions.

τῶν δ' ὕστερον οὐδεὶς ἐφρόντισεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀλιγωρήθη καὶ κατήρειψαν τῆς πόλεως τὰ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰ δ' ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀλιγωρία περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει πλησίον τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἐν τριακοσίοις πού σταδίοις ἐτείχισε Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες περὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἡ μὲν γέγονε Βαβυλῶνος μείζων, ἡ δ' ἔρημος ἡ πολλή, ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὴ ἂν ὀκνήσαι τινα εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἔφη τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.

ἐρημία μεγάλη ὅστιν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις.

C 739 διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ὕλης σπάνιν ἐκ φοινικίνων ξύλων αἱ οἰκοδομαὶ συντελοῦνται καὶ δοκοῖς καὶ στύλοις· περὶ δὲ τοὺς στύλους στρέφοντες ἐκ τῆς καλάμης σχοινία περιτιθέασιν, εἴτ' ἐπαλείφοντες χρώμασι καταγράφουσι, τὰς δὲ θύρας ἀσφάλτῳ· ὑψηλαὶ δὲ καὶ αὗται καὶ οἱ οἶκοι, καμαρωτοὶ πάντες διὰ τὴν ἀξυλίαν. ψιλὴ γὰρ ἡ χώρα καὶ θαμνώδης ἡ πολλή· πλὴν φοῖνικος· οὗτος δὲ πλεῖστος ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ<sup>1</sup> Περσίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Καρμανίᾳ. κερίμῳ δ' οὐ χρῶνται· οὐδὲ γὰρ κατομβροῦνται. παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ τῇ Σιτακηνῇ.

6. Ἀφώριστο δ' ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ<sup>2</sup> κατοικία

<sup>1</sup> τῇ, Meineke inserts.



cared for this matter; and even what was left of the city was neglected and thrown into ruins, partly by the Persians and partly by time and by the indifference of the Macedonians to things of this kind, and in particular after Seleucus Nicator had fortified Seleuceia on the Tigris near Babylon, at a distance of about three hundred stadia therefrom. For not only he, but also all his successors, were strongly interested in Seleuceia and transferred the royal residence to it. What is more, Seleuceia at the present time has become larger than Babylon, whereas the greater part of Babylon is so deserted that one would not hesitate to say what one of the comic poets said in reference to the Megalopolitans in Arcadia: "The Great City<sup>1</sup> is a great desert."<sup>2</sup> On account of the scarcity of timber their buildings are finished with beams and pillars of palm-wood. They wind ropes of twisted reed round the pillars; and then they plaster them and paint them with colours, though they coat the doors with asphalt. Both these and the private homes are built high, all being vaulted on account of the lack of timber; for, with the exception of the palm tree, most of the country is bare of trees and bears shrubs only. The palm is most abundant in Babylonia, and is found in abundance in Susa and on the coast of Persis and in Carmania. They do not use tiles much on their houses, for they get no rain; and this is likewise the case both in Susa and Sitacenê.

6. In Babylonia a settlement is set apart for the

<sup>1</sup> "Megalopolis" means "Great City."

<sup>2</sup> Strabo makes the same quotation in 8. 8. 1.

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<sup>2</sup> Βαβυλωνί, Groskurd and Meineke emend to Βαβυλωνία.

τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις φιλοσόφοις, τοῖς Χαλδαίοις προσαγορευομένοις, οἱ περὶ ἀστρονομίαν εἰσὶ τὸ πλεόν· προσποιοῦνται δέ τινες καὶ γενεθλιαλογεῖν, οὓς οὐ καταδέχονται οἱ ἕτεροι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ φύλόν τι τὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ χώρα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὑπ' ἐκείνων οἰκομένη, πλησιάζουσα καὶ τοῖς Ἀραψι καὶ τῇ κατὰ Πέρσας λεγομένη θαλάττῃ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν γένῃ πλείω· καὶ γὰρ Ὀρχηνοὶ τινες προσαγορεύονται καὶ Βορσιππηνοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους, ὥς ἂν κατὰ αἰρέσεις, ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα νέμοντες περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δόγματα. μέμνηνται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνίων οἱ μαθηματικοί, καθάπερ Κιδῆνα τε καὶ Ναβουριανοῦ καὶ Σουδίνου. καὶ Σέλευκος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Σελευκείας Χαλδαῖός ἐστι καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἀξιόλογοι ἄνδρες.

7. Τὰ δὲ Βόρσιππα ἱερὰ πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, λινοργεῖον μέγα. πληθύνουσι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτερίδες μείζους πολὺ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· ἀλίσκονται δ' εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ ταριχεύονται.

8. Περιέχεται δ' ἡ χώρα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἡοῦς ὑπὸ τε Σουσίων καὶ Ἐλυμαίων καὶ Παραιτακηνῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων μέχρι Ἀράβων τῶν Μεσηνῶν,<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσπέρας ὑπὸ τε Ἀράβων τῶν Σκηνιτῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς καὶ τῆς Γορδυαίας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων ὑπὸ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Μήδων μέχρι τοῦ Ζάγρου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐθνῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Μεσηνῶν, Letronne, for Ἐλεσηνῶν F, Ἀλεσηνῶν other MSS.; so later editors.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτόν, Jones, for αὐτό.

local philosophers, the Chaldaeans, as they are called, who are concerned mostly with astronomy; but some of these, who are not approved of by the others, profess to be genethliologists.<sup>1</sup> There is also a tribe of the Chaldaeans, and a territory inhabited by them, in the neighbourhood of the Arabians and of the Persian Sea, as it is called. There are also several tribes of the Chaldaean astronomers. For example, some are called Orcheni, others Borsippeni, and several others by different names, as though divided into different sects which hold to various different dogmas about the same subjects. And the mathematicians make mention of some of these men; as, for example, Cidenas and Naburianus and Sudinus. Seleucus of Seleuceia is also a Chaldaean, as are also several other noteworthy men.

7. Borsippa is a city sacred to Artemis and Apollo; and it manufactures linen in great quantities. It abounds in bats, much larger in size than those in other places; and these bats are caught and salted for food.

8. The country of the Babylonians is surrounded on the east by the Susians and Elymaeans and Paraetacenians, and on the south by the Persian Gulf and the Chaldaeans as far as the Mesenian<sup>2</sup> Arabians, and on the west by the Arabians called Scenitae,<sup>3</sup> as far as Adiabenê and Gordyaea, and on the north by the Armenians and the Medes as far as the Zagrus and the tribes about that river.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* to be astrologers, or to know how to cast nativities.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Mesenê" in 2. 1. 31.

<sup>3</sup> "Tent-dwellers."

9. Διαρρεῖται δ' ὑπὸ πλειονων μὲν ποταμῶν ἡ χώρα, μεγίστων δὲ τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Ἰήγριος· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς Ἰνδικοὺς οὗτοι λέγονται δευτερεύειν κατὰ τὰ νότια μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ποταμοί· ἔχουσι δ' ἀνάπλους, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὠπιν καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν νῦν Σελεύκειαν (ἡ δὲ Ὠπὶς κώμη ἐμπόριον τῶν κύκλω τόπων), ὁ δ' ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα, C 740 πλείονων ἢ τρισχιλίων σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι τοὺς ἀνάπλους ἐπίτηδες κωλύειν θέλοντες, φόβῳ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐφόδων, καταράκτας χειροποιήτους κατεσκευάκεισαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιὼν, ὅσους οἶός τε ἦν, ἀνεσκεύασε, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ὠπιν. ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν διωρύγων· πλημμυρεῖ γὰρ ὁ Εὐφράτης κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ θέρους, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρος ἀρξάμενος, ἡνίκα τήκονται αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη λιμνάζειν<sup>2</sup> καὶ κατακλύζεσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, εἰ μὴ διοχετεύει τις ταφρεῖαις καὶ διώρυξι τὸ ἐκπίπτον τοῦ ροῦ καὶ ἐπιπολάζον ὕδωρ, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸ τοῦ Νείλου· ἐντεῦθεν μὲν οὖν αἱ διώρυγες γεγένηνται· χρεῖα δέ ἐστιν ὑπουργίας μεγάλης· βαθεῖα γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ μαλακὴ καὶ εὐένδοτος, ὥστε καὶ ἐκσύρεται ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν ῥευμάτων καὶ γυμνοῖ τὰ πεδία, πληροῖ δὲ τὰς διώρυγας καὶ τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐμφράττει ῥαδίως ἡ χοῦς· οὕτω δὲ συμβαίνει πάλιν τὴν ὑπέρχουσιν τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ πεδία ἐκπίπτουσιν λίμνας ἀποτελεῖν καὶ ἔλη καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Meissner would omit καί. But according to Strabo's usage Σελεύκειαν might be appositional with Ὠπιν with the καί quite as well as without it.

<sup>2</sup> λιμνάζεσθαι Dhi.

9. The country is traversed by several rivers, though the largest are the Euphrates and the Tigris. Next to the Indian rivers these two, among those in the southern parts of Asia, are said to hold the second place. And they are navigable inland: the Tigris to Opis and the present Seleuceia<sup>1</sup> (the village Opis is an emporium of the places situated round it) and the Euphrates to Babylon, a distance of more than three thousand stadia. Now the Persians, wishing on purpose to prevent voyaging up these rivers, for fear of attacks from without, had constructed artificial cataracts, but Alexander, when he went against them, destroyed as many of them as he could, and in particular those to Opis. He also paid careful attention to the canals; for the Euphrates rises to flood-tide at the beginning of summer, beginning first to rise in the spring when the snows in Armenia melt; so that of necessity it forms lakes and deluges the ploughed lands, unless the excess of the stream, or the surface water, is distributed by means of trenches and canals, as is the case with the Nile in Aegypt. Now this is the origin of the canals; but there is need of much labour to keep them up, for the soil is so deep and soft and yielding that it is easily swept out by the streams, and the plains are laid bare, and the canals are easily filled, and their mouths choked, by the silt; and thus it results again that the overflow of the waters, emptying into the plains near the sea, forms lakes and marshes and reed-beds, which last supply reeds from

<sup>1</sup> Bruno Meissner (*Klio, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, XIX. 1925, p. 103), comparing 2. I. 26, understands Strabo to mean that Opis and "the present Seleuceia" are identical (see critical note).

καλαμώνας, ἐξ ὧν καλάμινα πλέκεται παντοῖα σκεύη, τὰ μὲν ὑγροῦ δεκτικὰ τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ περι-  
αλειφόντων, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ψιλῶς χρωμένων· καὶ  
ἱστία δὲ ποιοῦνται καλάμινα, ψιάθοις ἢ ῥίψι  
παραπλήσια.

10. Τὸ μὲν οὖν παντάπασι κωλύειν τὴν τοιαύτην  
πλήμμυραν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἴσως, τὸ δὲ τὴν δυνατὴν  
προσφέρειν βοήθειαν ἡγεμόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν.  
ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τὴν μὲν πολλὴν παρέκχυσιν  
ἐμφράξει κωλύειν, τὴν δὲ πλήρῳσιν, ἣν ἡ χοῦς  
ἐργάζεται, τὸνναντίον ἀνακαθάρσει τῶν διωρύγων  
καὶ ἐξανοίξει τῶν στομάτων. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀνακά-  
θαρσις ῥαδία, ἡ δὲ ἔμφραξις πολυχειρίας δεῖται·  
εὐένδοτος γὰρ οὔσα ἡ γῆ καὶ μαλακὴ τὴν ἐπιφορη-  
θεῖσαν οὐχ ὑπομένει χοῦν, ἀλλ' εἵκουσα συνεφέλ-  
κεται κἀκείνην καὶ ποιεῖ δυσέγχωστον<sup>1</sup> τὸ στόμα.  
καὶ γὰρ καὶ τάχους δεῖ πρὸς τὸ ταχέως κλεισθῆναι  
τὰς διωρύγας καὶ μὴ πᾶν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ  
ὔδωρ. ξηρανθεῖσαι γὰρ τοῦ θέρους ξηραίνουσι  
καὶ τὸν ποταμόν· ταπεινωθεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐποχетеίας  
οὐ δύναται παρέχεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν ὧν δεῖται  
πλεῖστον τοῦ θέρους ἔμπυρος οὔσα ἡ χώρα καὶ  
καυματηρά· διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν  
υδάτων κατακλύζεσθαι τοὺς καρπούς, ἢ τῇ λει-  
ψυδρίᾳ τῷ δίψει διαφθεῖρεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
ἀνάπλους, πολὺ τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχοντας, αἰὲ λυμαινο-  
μένους<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν λεχθέντων παθῶν,  
οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐπανορθοῦν, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ μὲν ἐξανοί-  
γοιτο<sup>3</sup> τὰ στόμια τῶν διωρύγων, ταχὺ δὲ κλείοιτο

<sup>1</sup> δυσέγχωστον, Schneider, for δυσένχωστον F, δυσεύχωστον other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> After λυμαινομένους all MSS. except F read γάρ; before that word Meineke, from conj. of Corais, inserts δέ.

which all kinds of reed-vessels are woven. Some of these vessels, when smeared all over with asphalt, can hold water, whereas the others are used in their bare state. They also make reed-sails, which are similar to rush-mats or wicker-work.

10. Now it is impossible, perhaps, altogether to prevent overflows of this kind, but it is the part of good rulers to afford all possible aid. The aid required is this: to prevent most of the overflowing by means of dams, and to prevent the filling up effected by the silt, on the contrary, by keeping the canals cleared and the mouths opened up. Now the clearing of the canals is easy, but the building of dams requires the work of many hands; for, since the earth readily gives in and is soft, it does not support the silt that is brought upon it, but yields to the silt, and draws it on, along with itself, and makes the mouth hard to dam. And indeed there is also need of quick work in order to close the canals quickly and to prevent all the water from emptying out of them. For when they dry up in the summer, they dry up the river too; and when the river is lowered it cannot supply the sluices with water at the time needed, since the water is needed most in summer, when the country is fiery hot and scorched; and it makes no difference whether the crops are submerged by the abundance of water, or are destroyed by thirst for water. At the same time, also, the voyages inland, with their many advantages, were always being thwarted by the two above-mentioned causes, and it was impossible to correct the trouble unless the mouths of the canals were quickly opened up and quickly closed, and

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<sup>3</sup> ἐξανολίγοιτο, Kramer, for κλείνουντο; so the later editors.

καὶ αἱ διώρυγες αἰὲν μετριάζοιεν, ὥστε μήτε<sup>1</sup>  
πλεονάζειν ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ ὕδωρ μήτ' ἐλλείπειν.

C 741 11. Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
αὐτόν, ἀναπλέοντα καὶ κυβερνῶντα τὸ σκάφος,  
ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ ἀνακαθαίρειν τὰς διώρυγας μετὰ  
τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συνακολουθησάντων· ὥς δ'  
αὕτως καὶ τὰ στόμια ἐμφράττειν, τὰ δ' ἀνοίγειν·  
κατανοήσαντα δὲ μίαν τὴν μάλιστα τείνουσαν<sup>2</sup>  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰς λίμνας τὰς πρὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας,  
δυσμεταχείριστον ἔχουσιν τὸ στόμα καὶ μὴ  
ῥαδίως ἐμφράττεσθαι δυναμένην διὰ τὸ εὐένδοτον  
καὶ μαλακόγειον, ἄλλο ἀνοῖξαι καινὸν στόμα,  
ἀπὸ σταδίων τριάκοντα ὑπόπετρον λαβόντα  
χωρίον, καὶ κεῖ μεταγαγεῖν τὸ ῥεῖθρον· ταῦτα δὲ  
ποιεῖν, προνοοῦντα ἅμα καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν Ἀραβίαν  
δυσεῖσβολον τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν λιμνῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν  
ἐλῶν ἀποτελεσθῆναι, νησίζουσιν ἤδη διὰ τὸ  
πλήθος τοῦ ὕδατος· διανοεῖσθαι γὰρ δὴ κατα-  
κτᾶσθαι τὴν χώραν ταύτην καὶ στόλους καὶ  
ὀρμητήρια ἤδη κατεσκευάσθαι, τὰ πλοῖα τὰ μὲν  
ἐν Φοινίκῃ τε καὶ Κύπρῳ ναυπηγησάμενον διά-  
λυτά τε καὶ γομφωτά, ἃ κομισθέντα εἰς Θάψακον  
σταθμοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ εἴτα τῷ ποταμῷ κατακομισθῆναι  
μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ  
συμπηξάμενον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι καὶ τοῖς  
παραδείσοις κυπαρίττων· σπάνις γὰρ ὕλης ἐν-  
ταῦθα· ἐν δὲ Κοσσαίοις καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ μετρία  
τίς ἐστὶν εὐπορία. σκήψασθαι μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν

<sup>1</sup> μήτε, Corais, for μηδέ.

<sup>2</sup> τείνουσαν, the editors, for συντείνουσιν.

<sup>3</sup> σταθμοῖς F, σταδίοις other MSS. and editors before Kramer.



unless the canals were regulated so that the water in them neither was excessive nor failed.

11. Aristobulus says that Alexander himself, when he was sailing up the river and piloting the boat, inspected the canals and with his multitude of followers cleared them; and that he likewise stopped up some of the mouths and opened others; and when he noticed that one canal, the one which stretched most directly towards the marshes and lakes that lay in front of Arabia, had a mouth most difficult to deal with and could not easily be stopped up because of the yielding and soft nature of the soil, he opened up another mouth, a new one, at a distance of thirty stadia from it, having selected a place with a rocky bottom, and that he diverted the stream to that place; and that in doing this he was taking forethought at the same time that Arabia should not be made utterly difficult to enter by the lakes or even by the marshes, since, on account of the abundance of water, that country was already taking the form of an island. For of course Alexander, he says, intended to acquire possession of that country, and had already prepared fleets and bases of operations, having built some of his boats in Phoenicia and Cypros, boats that were constructed with bolts and could be taken to pieces, which were conveyed by a seven days' journey to Thapsacus and then down the river to Babylon, and having built others in Babylonia, from the cypress trees in the groves and the parks; for there is a scarcity of timber in Babylonia, although there is a moderately good supply of timber in the countries of the Cossaei and certain other tribes. Now Alexander alleged

τοῦ πολέμου φησίν, ἐπειδὴ μόνοι τῶν ἀπάντων οὐ πρεσβεύσαιντο οἱ Ἄραβες ὡς αὐτόν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὀρεγόμενον πάντων εἶναι κύριον· καὶ ἐπεὶ δύο θεοὺς ἐπυνθάνετο τιμᾶσθαι μόνους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τὸν τε Δία καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, τοὺς τὰ κυριώτατα πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παρέχοντας, τρίτον ὑπολαβεῖν ἑαυτὸν τιμήσεσθαι, κρατήσαντα καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντα τὴν πάτριον αὐτονομίαν ἔχειν, ἣν εἶχον πρότερον. ταῦτά τε δὴ πραγματεύεσθαι περὶ τὰς διώρυγας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τοὺς τάφους σκευωρεῖσθαι τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν· τοὺς γὰρ πλείστους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις εἶναι.

12. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ, τῶν λιμνῶν μνησθεὶς τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, φησὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορούμενον διεξόδων ἀνοῖξαι πόρους ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὑποφέρεσθαι μέχρι Κοιλοσύρων· ἀναθλίβεσθαι δὲ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ῥινοκόλoura<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τόπους<sup>2</sup> καὶ ποιεῖν τὰς ἐκεῖ λίμνας καὶ τὰ βάραθρα. οὐκ οἶδα δ', εἰ πιθανῶς εἴρηκεν· αἱ γὰρ τοῦ Εὐφράτου παρεκχύσεις αἱ ποιοῦσαι τὰς πρὸς τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ λίμνας καὶ τὰ ἔλη πλησίον εἰσὶ τῆς κατὰ Πέρσας θαλάττης, ὃ δὲ διείργων ἰσθμὸς οὔτε πολὺς ἐστίν οὔτε πετρώδης, ὥστε  
C 742 ταύτῃ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν βιάσασθαι τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, εἴτ' ὑπὸ γῆς<sup>3</sup> εἴτ' ἐπιπολῆς, ἢ πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων διανύειν, ἄνυδρον καὶ ξηρὰν οὕτω, καὶ ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων,

<sup>1</sup> Ῥινοκόλoura, Tzschucke and Corais, for Ῥινοκορούρα (see readings in 16. 2. 31 and 16. 4. 24).

as cause of the war, Aristobulus says, that the Arabians were the only people on earth who did not send ambassadors to him, but in truth was reaching out to be lord of all; and when he learned that they worshipped two gods only, Zeus and Dionysus, the gods who supply the most requisite needs of life, he took it for granted that they would worship him as a third if he mastered them and allowed them to keep the ancestral independence which they had had before. Accordingly, he adds, Alexander busied himself thus with the canals, and also inspected thoroughly the tombs of the kings and potentates, most of which are situated among the lakes.

12. Eratosthenes, when he mentions the lakes near Arabia, says that when the water is deprived of exits it opens up underground passages and through these flows underground as far as the country of Coelê-Syria, and that it is pressed up into the region of Rhinocolura and Mt. Casius and forms the lakes and the pits there; but I do not know whether or not his statement is plausible; for the side-outflows of the Euphrates which form the lakes near Arabia and the marshes are near the Persian Sea, but the isthmus which separates them is neither large nor rocky, so that it was more likely that the water forced its way into the sea in this region, whether underground or on the surface, than that it traversed a distance of more than six thousand stadia, through a country so waterless and dry, and that too when mountains intervene, I mean Mt.

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<sup>2</sup> τόπους, Corais, for ποταμούς.

<sup>3</sup> γῆν *mrw*, Tzschucke, and Corais.

τοῦ τε Λιβάνου καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιλιβανου καὶ τοῦ Κασίου.<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα λέγουσι.

13. Πολύκλειτος δέ φησι μὴ πλημμυρεῖν τὸν Εὐφράτην· διὰ γὰρ πεδίων φέρεσθαι μεγάλων, τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ μὲν δισχιλίους ἀφεστάναι σταδίους, τὰ δὲ Κοσσαῖα μόλις χιλίους, οὐ πάνυ ὑψηλά, οὐδὲ νιφόμενα σφοδρῶς, οὐδ' ἀθρόαν ἐπιφέροντα τῇ χιόνι τὴν τῆξιν· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὕψη τῶν ὀρώων ἐν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἐκβατάνων μέρεσι τοῖς προσβορείοις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νότον ἰσχυζόμενα καὶ πλατυνόμενα πολὺ ταπεινοῦσθαι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκδέχεσθαι τὸν Τίγριν καὶ οὕτως πλημμυρεῖν.<sup>3</sup> τὸ μὲν οὖν ὕστατον ῥηθὲν φανερώς ἄτοπον· εἰς γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ κατέρχεται πεδία. τὰ δὲ<sup>4</sup> λεχθέντα ὕψη τῶν ὀρώων ἀνωμαλίαν ἔχει, πῇ μὲν ἐξηρμένα μᾶλλον τὰ βόρεια, πῇ δὲ πλατυνόμενα τὰ μεσημβρινά· ἡ δὲ χιὼν οὐ τοῖς ὕψεσι κρίνεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κλίμασι· τό τε αὐτὸ ὄρος τὰ βόρεια μέρη νίφεται μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νότια. καὶ τὴν χιόνα συμμένουσαν ἔχει μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνα ἢ ταῦτα. ὁ μὲν οὖν Τίγρις ἐκ τῶν νοτιωτάτων μερῶν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ἀ

<sup>1</sup> Κασίου, Tzschucke, for Μασσίου CDF, Μασσίου hisw, Κασσίου Ald.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν, Corais, for ἀεί.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ οὕτως πλημμυρεῖν (omitting τά after οὕτως) transferred by Meineke, from conj. of Kramer, from position after κατέρχεται πεδία (below).

<sup>4</sup> δέ, Meineke inserts, following conj. of Kramer.

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<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes' reference to "Rhinocolura" in connection with "Mt. Casius," shows that he meant the Mt. Casius near Aegypt and not the Syrian Mt. Casius. Eratosthenes, like other writers (Polybius 5. 80, Diodorus Siculus 1. 30,

Libanus and Mt. Antilibanus and Mt. Casius.<sup>1</sup> Such, then, are the accounts of Aristobulus and Eratosthenes.

13. Polycleitus, however, says that the Euphrates does not overflow; for, he says, it flows through large plains; and as for the mountains, some stand at a distance of two thousand stadia from it, but the Cossaeon mountains at a distance of scarcely one thousand, which latter are not very high, are not covered very deeply with snow, and do not cause the snow to melt quickly in great quantities; for, he says, the heights of the mountains lie in the region above Ecbatana towards the north, but, in the region towards the south, they split, broaden out, and become much lower, and at the same time most of their waters are received by the Tigris and thus overflow the plains. Now this last assertion is obviously absurd, for the Tigris flows down into the same plains as the Euphrates, and the above-mentioned heights of the mountains have different altitudes, the northern heights being more elevated in some places, whereas the southern broaden out in some places; but the quantity of snow is not determined merely by the heights, but also by their latitudes; and the same mountain has more snow in its northern parts than in its southern, and the snow continues longer in the former than the latter. Now the Tigris receives from the southernmost parts of Armenia, which are

and Josephus 13. 13), extended the name "Coelê-Syria," which was properly applied only to the country between Mts. Libanus and Antilibanus, to include that part of Syria which borders on Aegypt and Arabia. Hence, quite apart from the truth or falsity of Eratosthenes' statement, he was clearly misinterpreted by Strabo.

πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, δεχόμενος τὸ ἐκ τῶν χιόνων ὕδωρ οὐ πολὺ ὄν, ἅτε ἐκ τῆς νοτίου πλευρᾶς, ἥττον ἂν πλημμύροι· ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων δέχεται τῶν μερῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς ὅρους, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν, ὡς ἐδηλοῦμεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ περιγησίᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, προστιθεὶς τὸ μῆκος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅσον μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ διέξεισι καὶ τῇ μικρᾷ, ὅσον δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας διὰ τοῦ Ταύρου διεκβαλὼν ἕως Θαψάκου φέρεται, τὴν κάτω Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἀφορίζων, ὅσον δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ὁμοῦ τρισμυρίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς διώρυγας τοιαῦτα.

14. Ἡ δὲ χώρα φέρει κριθὰς μὲν, ὅσας οὐκ ἄλλη (καὶ γὰρ τριακοσιοντάχουν<sup>2</sup> λέγουσι), τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ φοίνικος παρέχεται· καὶ γὰρ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄξος καὶ μέλι καὶ ἄλφита· τά τε πλεκτὰ παντοῖα ἐκ τούτου· τοῖς δὲ πυρῇσιν ἀντ' ἀνθράκων οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται, βρεχόμενοι δὲ τοῖς σιτιζομένοις εἰσὶ τροφή βουσι καὶ προβάτοις. φασὶ δ' εἶναι Περσικὴν ὥδην, ἐν ᾗ τὰς ὠφελείας τριακοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα διαριθμοῦνται·

C 743 ἐλαίῳ δὲ χρῶνται τῷ σησαμίνῳ τὸ πλεόν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τόποι σπανίζονται τούτου τοῦ φυτοῦ.

15. Γίνεται δ' ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ καὶ ἄσφαλτος πολλή, περὶ ἧς Ἐρατοσθένης μὲν οὕτως εἴρηκεν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὑγρά, ἣν καλοῦσι νάφθαν, γίνεται ἐν τῇ Σουσίδι, ἡ δὲ ξηρά, δυναμένη πῆττεσθαι, ἐν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἐδηλοῦμεν, Corais unnecessarily emends to ἐδήλουν.

<sup>2</sup> τριακοσιοντάχουν, Meineke, for τριακοσιάχια Ald., τριακισιόχοα conj. of Lobeck.

near Babylonia, the water of the melted snows, which is not much, since it comes from the southern side, and this river would therefore be flooded less than the Euphrates; but the Euphrates receives the water from both parts, and not merely from one mountain, but from many, as I made clear in my description of Armenia,<sup>1</sup> where I added the length of that river, giving first the length of its course in Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia, and secondly its length from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia through the Taurus as far as Thapsacus, where it forms the boundary between Lower Syria and Mesopotamia, and, thirdly, the rest of its length as far as Babylon and the outlet, a length, all told, of thirty-six thousand stadia. So much, then, for the canals.

14. The country produces larger crops of barley than any other country<sup>2</sup> (bearing three hundredfold, they say), and its other needs are supplied by the palm tree; for this tree yields bread, wine, vinegar, honey, and meal; and all kinds of woven articles are supplied by that tree; and the bronze-smiths use the stones of the fruit instead of charcoal; and when soaked in water these stones are used as food for oxen and sheep which are being fattened. There is said to be a Persian song wherein are enumerated three hundred and sixty uses of the palm tree; and, as for oil, the people use mostly that of sesame, but this plant is rare in all other places.

15. Babylonia produces also great quantities of asphalt, concerning which Eratosthenes states that the liquid kind, which is called naphtha, is found in Susis, but the dry kind, which can be solidified, in

<sup>1</sup> See 11. 12. 3 and 11. 14. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 11. 4. 3, 15. 3. 11, and Herodotus 1. 193.

Βαβυλωνία· ταύτης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ Εὐφράτου πλησίον· πλημμύροντος δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὰς τῶν χιόνων τήξεις καὶ αὐτὴ πληροῦται καὶ ὑπέρχυσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν λαμβάνει· ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνίστανται βῶλοι μεγάλοι πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ἐπιτήδειαί τὰς διὰ τῆς ὀπτῆς πλίνθου. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑγρὰν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ γίνεσθαι φασί. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ξηρᾶς εἴρηται, πόσον τὸ χρήσιμον τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν μάλιστα· φασὶ δὲ καὶ πλοῖα πλέκεσθαι, ἐμπλασθέντα δ' ἀσφάλτῳ πυκνοῦσθαι. τὴν δὲ ὑγρὰν, ἣν νάφθαν καλοῦσι, παράδοξον ἔχειν συμβαίνει τὴν φύσιν· προσαχθεῖς<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ὁ νάφθας πυρὶ πλησίον ἀναρπάζει τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ἐπιχρίσας αὐτῷ σῶμα προσαγάγῃς, φλέγεται· σβέσαι δ' ὕδατι οὐχ οἶόν τε (ἐκκαίεται γὰρ μᾶλλον), πλὴν εἰ πάνυ πολλῷ, ἀλλὰ πηλῷ καὶ ὄξει καὶ στυπτηρίᾳ καὶ ἰξῶ πνιγεῖς<sup>2</sup> σβέννυται. πείρας δὲ χάριν φασὶν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν λουτρῷ προσχέαι παιδὶ τοῦ νάφθα καὶ προσαγαγεῖν λύχνον· φλεγόμενον δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀπολέσθαι, πλὴν πολλῷ σφόδρα καταντλοῦντες τῷ ὕδατι ἐξίσχυσαν καὶ διέσωσαν οἱ περιεστῶτες. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ φησὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ νάφθα τὰς πηγὰς. τὰς μὲν εἶναι λευκοῦ, τὰς δὲ μέλανος· τούτων δὲ<sup>3</sup> τὰς μὲν εἶναι θείου ὑγροῦ, λέγω δὲ τὰς τοῦ λευκοῦ (ταύτας δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐπισπώσας τὰς φλόγας), τὰς δὲ τοῦ μέλανος, ἀσφάλτου ὑγρᾶς, ᾧ ἀντ' ἐλαίου τοὺς λύχνους κάουσι.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> προσαχθεῖς D, προσαφθεῖς other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πνιγεῖς Epit., for πνιγέντα; so Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> δὴ Dh.

<sup>4</sup> καίουσι CFmoz.



Babylonia; and that there is a fountain of this latter asphalt near the Euphrates River; and that when this river is at its flood at the time of the melting of the snows, the fountain of asphalt is also filled and overflows into the river; and that there large clods of asphalt are formed which are suitable for buildings constructed of baked bricks. Other writers say that the liquid kind also is found in Babylonia. Now writers state in particular the great usefulness of the dry kind in the construction of buildings, but they say also that boats are woven with reeds and, when plastered with asphalt, are impervious to water. The liquid kind, which they call naphtha, is of a singular nature; for if the naphtha is brought near fire it catches the fire; and if you smear a body with it and bring it near to the fire, the body bursts into flames; and it is impossible to quench these flames with water (for they burn more violently), unless a great amount is used, though they can be smothered and quenched with mud, vinegar, alum, and bird-lime. It is said that Alexander, for an experiment, poured some naphtha on a boy in a bath and brought a lamp near him; and that the boy, enveloped in flames, would have been nearly burned to death if the bystanders had not, by pouring on him a very great quantity of water, prevailed over the fire and saved his life. Poseidonius says of the springs of naphtha in Babylonia, that some send forth white naphtha and others black; and that some of these, I mean those that send forth white naphtha, consist of liquid sulphur (and it is these that attract the flames), whereas the others send forth black naphtha, liquid asphalt, which is burnt in lamps instead of oil.

16. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἡ Βαβυλὼν ἦν μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσσυρίας, νῦν δὲ Σελεύκεια, ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει λεγομένη. πλησίον δ' ἐστὶ κώμη, Κτησιφῶν λεγομένη, μεγάλη· ταύτην δ' ἐποιοῦντο χειμάδιον οἱ τῶν Παρθυαίων βασιλεῖς, φειδόμενοι τῶν Σελευκέων, ἵνα μὴ κατασταθμεύοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ φύλου καὶ στρατωτικοῦ. δυνάμει οὖν Παρθικῇ<sup>1</sup> πόλις ἀντὶ κώμης ἐστί, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοσοῦτόν γε πλήθος δεχομένη καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν κατεσκευασμένη καὶ τὰ ὄνια καὶ τὰς τέχνας προσφόρους ἐκείνοις πεπορισμένη. εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χειμῶνος διάγειν οἱ βασιλεῖς διὰ τὸ εὐάερον· θέρους δὲ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καὶ τῇ Ὑρκανίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης. ὥσπερ δὲ Βαβυλωνίαν τὴν χώραν καλοῦμεν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν Βαβυλωνίους καλοῦμεν, οὐκ C 744 ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας ἦττον, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὥσι, καθάπερ Διογένη τὸν Στωικὸν φιλόσοφον.

17. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμίτα, πόλις ἀξιόλογος, διέχουσα πεντακοσίους τῆς Σελευκείας σταδίους, πρὸς ἑὸν τὸ πλεον, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Σιτακηνή. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη, πολλή τε καὶ ἀγαθή, μέση<sup>2</sup> Βαβυλῶνος τέτακται καὶ τῆς Σουσίδος, ὥστε τοῖς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Σοῦσα βαδίζουσι διὰ τῆς Σιτα-

<sup>1</sup> Παρθικῇ, Kramer, for Παρθική.

<sup>2</sup> For μέση E reads μέχρι.

16. And in ancient times Babylon was the metropolis of Assyria; but now Seleuceia is the metropolis, I mean the Seleuceia on the Tigris, as it is called. Near by is situated a village called Ctesiphon, a large village. This village the kings of the Parthians were wont to make their winter residence, thus sparing the Seleuceians, in order that the Seleuceians might not be oppressed by having the Scythian folk or soldiery quartered amongst them. Because of the Parthian power, therefore, Ctesiphon is a city rather than a village; its size is such that it lodges a great number of people, and it has been equipped with buildings by the Parthians themselves; and it has been provided by the Parthians with wares for sale and with the arts that are pleasing to the Parthians; for the Parthian kings are accustomed to spend the winter there because of the salubrity of the air, but the summer at Ecbatana and in Hyrcania because of the prevalence of their ancient renown. And as we call the country Babylonia, so also we call the men from there Babylonians, that is, not after the city, but after the country; but we do not call men after Seleuceia, if they are from there, as, for example, Diogenes the Stoic philosopher.<sup>1</sup>

17. And there is also Artemita, a noteworthy city, which is five hundred stadia distant from Seleuceia, being situated almost directly towards the east, as is also Sitacenê. For Sitacenê too, both extensive and fertile, lies between Babylon and Susis, so that the whole of the journey for people travelling from Babylon to Susa is through Sitacenê towards the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Diogenes was known as "Diogenes the Babylonian" (as in Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum* 1. 5), not as "Diogenes the Seleuceian."

κηνῆς ἡ ὁδὸς ἅπασα πρὸς ἔω· πρὸς ἔω δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Σούσων εἰς τὴν μεσόγαίαν τῆς Περσίδος διὰ τῆς Οὐξίας καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος εἰς τὰ μέσα τῆς Καρμανίας. τὴν μὲν οὖν Καρμανίαν ἐγκυκλοῦται πρὸς<sup>1</sup> ἄρκτον ἡ Περσίς, πολλὴ οὔσα· ταύτῃ δὲ συνάπτει ἡ Παραιτακηνὴ καὶ ἡ Κοσσαία μέχρι Κασπίων πυλῶν, ὀρεινὰ καὶ ληστρικὰ ἔθνη· τῇ δὲ Σουσίδι ἡ Ἑλυμαῖς,<sup>2</sup> καὶ αὐτὴ τραχεῖα ἡ πολλὴ καὶ ληστρικὴ· τῇ δὲ Ἑλυμαίδι<sup>3</sup> τὰ περὶ τὸν Ζάγρον καὶ ἡ Μηδία.

18. Κοσσαῖοι μὲν οὖν εἰσι τοξόται τὸ πλέον, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ συνεχεῖς ὀρεινοί, προνομεύοντες αἰεὶ· χώραν γὰρ ἔχουσιν ὀλίγην τε καὶ λυπράν, ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀνάγκη ζῆν· ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν· ἅπαντες γάρ εἰσι μάχιμοι· τοῖς γοῦν Ἑλυμαίοις συνεμάχουν μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, πολεμοῦσι πρὸς τε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Σουσίους. οἱ δὲ Παραιτακηνοὶ μᾶλλον μὲν τῶν Κοσσαίων ἐπιμελοῦνται γῆς· ὅμως δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ληστηρίων οὐκ ἀπέχονται. Ἑλυμαῖοι δὲ καὶ μείζω τούτων κέκτηνται χώραν καὶ ποικιλωτέραν. ὅση μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὴ γεωργοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἡ δ' ὀρεινὴ στρατιώτας τρέφει, τοξότας τοὺς πλείστους· πολλὴ δὲ οὔσα πολὺ καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν παρέχεται, ὥστε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν δύναμιν κεκτημένος μεγάλην οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῷ τῶν Παρθυαίων βασιλεῖ παραπλησίως τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Before ἄρκτον Meineke, from conj. of Groskurd, inserts ἐσπέραν καί.

<sup>2</sup> Ελυμαῖς, the editors, for Ελυμάντις F, Ἑλυμάτις other MSS.

east; and the journey for people travelling from Susa into the interior of Persis through Uxia, and for people travelling from Persis into the middle of Carmania, is also towards the east. Now Carmania is encircled on the north by Persis, which is a large country; and bordering on this country are Paraetacenê and Cossaea as far as the Caspian Gates, which is inhabited by mountainous and predatory tribes. And bordering on Susis is Elymaïs, most of which is rugged and inhabited by brigands; and bordering Elymaïs are Media and the region of the Zagrus.

18. Now the Cossaeans, like the neighbouring mountaineers, are for the most part bowmen, and are always out on foraging expeditions; for they have a country that is small and barren, so that they must needs live at the expense of the other tribes. And they are of necessity a powerful people, for they are all fighters; at any rate, thirteen thousand Cossaeans joined the Elymaeans in battle, when the latter were warring against both the Babylonians and the Susians. But the Paraetaceni are more interested in agriculture than the Cossaeans; but still even they themselves do not abstain from brigandage. The Elymaeans possess a larger and more diversified country than the Paraetaceni. Now all of it that is fertile is inhabited by farmers, whereas the mountainous part of it is a nursery of soldiers, mostly bowmen; and since the latter part is extensive, it can furnish so large a military force that their king, since he possesses great power, refuses to be subject to the king of

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<sup>8</sup> Ἐλυμαῖδι, the editors, for Ἐλυμάτιδι.

ἄλλοις ὑπήκοος εἶται· ὁμοίως δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὕστερον τοὺς τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντας διέκειτο. Ἀντίοχον μὲν οὖν τὸν Μέγαν τὸ τοῦ βήλου συλᾶν ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ἀνεῖλον ἐπιθέμενοι καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πλησίον βάρβαροι. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμβάντων παιδευθεὶς ὁ Παρθυαῖος χρόνοις ὕστερον ἀκούων τὰ ἱερὰ πλούσια παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὁρῶν δ' ἀπειθοῦντας, ἐμβάλλει μετὰ δυνάμεως μεγάλης, καὶ τό τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν εἶλε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τὰ Ἀζαρα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἦρε ταλάντων μυρίων γάζαν· ἠρέθη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἡδυφῶντι ποταμῷ Σελεύκεια, μεγάλη πόλις· Σολόκη δ' ἐκαλείτο πρότερον, τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν εἰς τὴν χώραν εὐφυεῖς εἰσβολαί· ἐκ μὲν τῆς Μηδίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ζάγρον τόπων διὰ τῆς Μασσαβατικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σουσίδος διὰ τῆς Γαβιανῆς (ἐπαρχίαι δ' C 745 εἰσὶν αὗται τῆς Ἑλυμαίας ἣ τε Γαβιανὴ καὶ ἡ Μασσαβατική), τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Κορβιανὴ<sup>3</sup> ἐπαρχία τῆς Ἑλυμαίδος. ὅμοροι δ' εἰσὶ τούτοις Σαγαπηνοί τε καὶ Σιλακηνοί, δυναστεῖαι μικραί. τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη πρὸς ἑω τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τὴν Μηδίαν ἔφαμεν καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ δύσεώς ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀδιαβηνή καὶ ἡ Μεσοποταμία.

<sup>1</sup> Kramer conj. that the words καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας have fallen out after ὁμοίως δέ.

<sup>2</sup> For τὰ Ἀζαρα F reads τὰ Ἀζαρα; Tzschucke and Corais, from conj. of Casaubon, read τὰ Ζάρα. But see τὰ Ἀζαρα in 11. 14. 3.

the Parthians like the other tribes; and their king was likewise disposed towards<sup>1</sup> the Macedonians, who ruled Syria in later times. Now when Antiochus the Great attempted to rob the temple of Belus, the neighbouring barbarians, all by themselves, attacked him and slew him. In later times the king of Parthia, though warned by what had happened to Antiochus, hearing that the temples in that country contained great wealth, and seeing that the inhabitants were disobedient subjects, made an invasion with a great force, and took both the temple of Athena and that of Artemis, the latter called Azara, and carried off treasures valued at ten thousand talents. And Seleuceia near the Hedyphon River, a large city, was also taken. In earlier times Seleuceia was called Solocê. There are three entrances into the country that have been supplied by nature: one from Media and the region of the Zagrus through Massabaticê; another from Susis through Gabianê (these, both Gabianê and Massabaticê, are provinces of Elymaea), and the third from Persis. And Corbianê is also a province of Elymaïs. And the countries of the Sagapeni and the Silaceni, small domains, border on that of these people. Such is the size and such is the nature of the tribes situated above Babylonia towards the east. But, as I have said, Media and Armenia are situated on the north; and Adiabenê and Mesopotamia are situated on the west.

<sup>1</sup> Kramer suggests that the Greek for "the Persians and" has fallen out of the MSS. here (see critical note).

<sup>3</sup> Κορβιανή, Kramer, for Κορβίανα F, Κυρβιανά μοz, Κορβιανά other MSS.; so Meineke and Müller-Dübner.

19. Τῆς μὲν οὖν Αδιαβηνῆς ἡ πλείστη πεδίας ἐστι, καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας μέρος οὖσα, ἔχουσα δ' ὅμως ἄρχοντα ἴδιον, ἔστιν ὅπη καὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ προσχωροῦσα· οἱ γὰρ Μῆδοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, τρίτοι δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ταύτῃ διετέλουν οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνεστῶτες, ὥστ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι κατὰ καιροὺς τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι καὶ πάλιν διαλύεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο καὶ μέχρι τῆς τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐπικρατείας διέμεινε. τῶν μὲν οὖν Μήδων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπάρχουσι Παρθυαῖοι, τῶν δ' Ἀρμενίων οὐδ' ἄπαξ· ἀλλ' ἔφοδοι μὲν γεγόνασι πολλάκις, ἀνὰ κράτος δ' οὐχ ἑάλωσαν, ἀλλ' ὁ γε Τιγράνης καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀντεπεκράτησεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενιοῖς εἴρηται. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀδιαβηνὴ τοιαύτη· καλοῦνται δ' οἱ Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Σακκόποδες<sup>1</sup> περὶ δὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐρουῦμεν ἐφεξῆς καὶ τῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐθνῶν, ἐπιόντες ἐπὶ μικρὸν πρότερον τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις.

20. Τᾶλλα μὲν οὖν ἔοικε τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ἴδιον δὲ τὸ καθεστάναι τρεῖς ἄνδρας σῶφρονας ἐκάστης ἄρχοντας φυλῆς, οἱ τὰς ἐπιγάμους κόρας προσάγοντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκηρύττουσι τοῖς νυμφίοις αἰὲ τὰς ἐντιμοτέρας πρώτας. οὕτω μὲν αἱ συζυγίαι τελοῦνται· ὅσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐπιθυμιάσοντας<sup>2</sup> ἐξανίστανται ἑκάτερος χωρὶς· ὀρθρου δὲ λούονται πρὶν ἀγγεῖου τινὸς

<sup>1</sup> The words καλοῦνται . . . Σακκόποδες (Σακόποδες F) are suspected by Kramer and ejected by Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιθυμιάσοντας, Groskurd, for ἐπιθυμιάσαντες.



19. Now as for Adiabenê, the most of it consists of plains; and though it too is a part of Babylonia, still it has a ruler of its own; and in some places it borders also on Armenia. For the Medes and the Armenians, and third the Babylonians, the three greatest of the tribes in that part of the world, were so constituted from the beginning, and continued to be, that at times opportune for each they would attack one another and in turn become reconciled. And this continued down to the supremacy of the Parthians. Now the Parthians rule over the Medes and the Babylonians, but they have never once ruled over the Armenians; indeed, the Armenians have been attacked many times, but they could not be overcome by force, since Tigranes opposed all attacks mightily, as I have stated in my description of Armenia.<sup>1</sup> Such, then, is Adiabenê; and the Adiabeni are also called Saccopodes;<sup>2</sup> but I shall next describe Mesopotamia and the tribes on the south, after briefly going over the accounts given of the customs of Assyria.

20. Now in general their customs are like those of the Persians, but it is a custom peculiar to them to appoint three wise men as rulers of each tribe, who present in public the marriageable girls, and sell them by auction to the bridegrooms, always selling first those who are the more highly prized. Thus marriages are contracted; and every time they have intercourse with one another, they arise and go out, each apart from the other, to offer incense; and in the morning they bathe themselves before

<sup>1</sup> See 11. 14. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "Sack-feet." But the name is suspected (see critical note).

ἄψασθαι· παραπλησίως γάρ, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ νεκροῦ τὸ λουτρὸν ἐν ἔθει ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ συνουσίας. πάσαις δὲ ταῖς Βαβυλωνίαις ἔθος κατὰ τι λόγιον ξένῳ μίγνυσθαι, πρὸς τι Ἀφροδίσιον ἀφικομέναις μετὰ πολλῆς θεραπείας καὶ ὄχλου· θώμιγγι δ' ἔστεπται ἐκάστη· ὁ δὲ προσίων καταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα, ὅσον καλῶς ἔχει ἀργύριον, συγγίνεται, ἄπωθεν τοῦ τεμένους ἀπαγαγών· τὸ δ' ἀργύριον ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης νομίζεται. ἀρχεῖα δ' ἐστὶ τρία, τὸ τῶν ἀφειμένων ἤδη τῆς στρατείας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων C 746 καὶ τὸ τῶν γερόντων, χωρὶς τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καθισταμένου. τούτου δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς παρθένους ἐκδιδόναι καὶ τὸ τὰς περὶ τῆς μοιχείας δικάζειν δίκας, ἄλλου<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὸ τὰς τῆς κλοπῆς, τρίτου<sup>2</sup> τὸ περὶ τῶν βιαίων. τοὺς δ' ἀρρώστους εἰς τὰς τριόδους ἐκτιθέντες πυνθάνονται τῶν παριόντων, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι λέγειν τοῦ πάθους ἄκος· οὐδεὶς τέ ἐστίν οὕτω κακὸς τῶν παριόντων, ὃς οὐκ ἐντυχών, εἴ τι φρονεῖ σωτήριον, ὑποτίθεται. ἐσθῆς δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ χιτῶν λινοῦς ποδιήρης καὶ ἐπενδύτης ἐρεοῦς, ἱμάτιον λευκόν, κόμη μακρά,<sup>3</sup> ὑπόδημα ἐμβάδι ὅμοιον. φοροῦσι δὲ καὶ σφραγίδα καὶ σκήπτρον οὐ λιτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσημον, ἔχον ἐπάνω μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον· ἀλείφονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ σησάμου· θρηνοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ὥς Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄλλων· θάπτουσι δ' ἐν μέλιτι, κηρῷ περιπλά-

<sup>1</sup> ἕλλω CDFhmoz.

<sup>2</sup> τρίτου, Tzschucke, for τρίτον.

<sup>3</sup> μακρά, Corais, for μικρά.

they touch any vessel; for just as ablution is customary after touching a corpse, so also it is customary after intercourse. And in accordance with a certain oracle all the Babylonian women have a custom of having intercourse with a foreigner, the women going to a temple of Aphrodite with a great retinue and crowd; and each woman is wreathed with a cord round her head. The man who approaches a woman takes her far away from the sacred precinct, places a fair amount of money upon her lap, and then has intercourse with her; and the money is considered sacred to Aphrodite. They have three tribunals: that of those who are already freed from military service, and that of the most famous, and that of the old men, apart from that appointed by the king. It is the duty of this last to give girls in marriage and to pass judgment in cases of adultery; and the duty of another to pass judgment in cases of theft, and of a third to pass judgment in cases of assault. They place the sick where three roads meet and question those who pass by, on the chance that some one has a cure for the malady; and no one of those who pass by is so base as not to suggest some cure when he falls in with them if he has any in mind. Their clothing consists of a linen tunic reaching to the feet, an upper garment made of wool, and a white cloak; and they wear their hair long, and use a shoe that is like a buskin. They wear also a seal, and carry a staff that is not plain but has a design on it, having on top an apple or rose or lily or something of the kind; and they anoint themselves with sesame; and they bewail the dead, like the Egyptians and many other nations; and they bury their dead in honey, first besmearing

σαντες. τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶ φρατρίαι τῶν ἀπόρων σίτου· ἔλειοι δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι καὶ ἰχθυοφάγοι, διαιτώμενοι παραπλησίως τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Γεδρωσίαν.

21. Μεσοποταμία δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνόμασται· εἴρηται δ', ὅτι κεῖται μεταξὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγριος καὶ διότι ὁ μὲν Τίγρις τὸ ἑώθινον αὐτῆς μόνον κλύζει πλευρόν, τὸ δ' ἑσπέριον καὶ νότιον ὁ Εὐφράτης· πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους διορίζων ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον δ' ἀφίστανται διάστημα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐστὶ τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη τὸ αὐτό, ὅπερ εἶρηκεν Ἑρατοσθένης, τὸ ἀπὸ Θαψάκου, καθ' ὃ ἦν τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τίγριος διάβασιν, καθ' ἣν διέβη Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτόν, δισχιλίων τετρακοσίων· τὸ δ' ἐλάχιστον μικρῷ πλέον τῶν διακοσίων κατὰ Σελεύκειάν που καὶ Βαβυλῶνα. διαρρεῖ δ' ὁ Τίγρις τὴν Θωπίτιν καλουμένην λίμνην κατὰ πλάτος μέσην· περαιωθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερον χεῖλος κατὰ γῆς δύνεται μετὰ πολλοῦ ψόφου καὶ ἀναφυσημάτων· ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἐνεχθεὶς ἀφανής, ἀνίσχει πάλιν οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τῆς Γορδυαίας· οὕτω δὲ σφοδρῶς διεκβάλλει τὴν λίμνην, ὥς φησιν Ἑρατοσθένης, ὥστε ἀλμυρὰν αὐτὴν οὔσαν καὶ ἄνιχθον γλυκεῖαν κατὰ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ μέρος καὶ ῥοώδη καὶ ἰχθύων πλήρη.

22. Ἐπὶ μῆκος δὲ συχινὸν προπέπτωκεν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, καὶ πλοίῳ πως ἔοικε.<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖ δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς περιφερείας ὁ Εὐφράτης·

<sup>1</sup> ἔοικε, Corais, for ἑώκει.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "a country between rivers."

<sup>2</sup> 11.14. 2.

them with wax. But three of their tribes have no grain; and these live in marshes and are fish-eaters, living a life similar to that of the inhabitants of Gedrosia.

21. Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> has its name from what is the fact in the case. As I have said,<sup>2</sup> it lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris; and the Tigris washes its eastern side only, whereas the Euphrates washes its western and southern sides; and on the north is the Taurus, which separates Armenia from Mesopotamia. Now the greatest distance by which the two rivers are separated is that towards the mountains; and this distance might be the same as that stated by Eratosthenes—I mean that from Thapsacus, where was the old bridge of the Euphrates, to the crossing of the Tigris, where Alexander crossed it—two thousand four hundred stadia; but the shortest distance between the two rivers is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Seleuceia and Babylon, slightly more than two hundred stadia. The Tigris flows through the middle of Lake Thopitis, as it is called, in the direction of its breadth; and, after traversing it to the opposite shore, it sinks underground with upward blasts and a loud noise; and having flowed for a considerable distance invisible, it rises again not far away from Gordyaea; and it traverses the lake so impetuously, as Eratosthenes says, that, although the lake elsewhere is briny and without fish, yet in this part it is fresh, runs like a river, and is full of fish.

22. Mesopotamia contracts in shape, projecting to a considerable length; and the shape of it somewhat resembles that of a boat; and the greatest part of its periphery is formed by the Euphrates. The

καί ἐστι τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θαψάκου μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς εἶρηκεν Ἑρατοσθένης, τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Κομμαγηνὴν Ζεύγατος, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς  
 C 747 Μεσοποταμίας, οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν δισχιλίων σταδίων ἕως ἐπὶ Θαψακον.

23. Ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν παρόρειος εὐδαίμων ἱκανῶς· ἔχουσι δ' αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ τῷ Ζεύγατι, τῷ τε νῦν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Κομμαγηνὴν καὶ τῷ πάλαι τῷ κατὰ τὴν Θαψακον, οἱ<sup>1</sup> Μυγδόνες κατονομασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ Νίσιβις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Μυγδονίᾳ προσηγόρευσαν, ὑπὸ τῷ Μασίῳ ὄρει κειμένην, καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ περὶ Κάρρας καὶ Νικηφόριον χωρία καὶ Χορδίραζα καὶ Σίννακα, ἐν ἣ Κράσσος διεφθάρη, δόλῳ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σουρήνα, τοῦ τῶν Παρθυαίων στρατηγοῦ.

24. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει τὰ τῶν Γορδυαίων<sup>2</sup> χωρία, οὓς οἱ πάλαι Καρδούχους ἔλεγον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> Σάρεισά τε καὶ Σάταλκα καὶ Πίνακα, κράτιστον ἔρυμα, τρεῖς ἄκρας ἔχουσα, ἐκάστην ἰδίῳ τείχει τετειχισμένην, ὥστε οἶον τρίπολιν εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος εἶχεν ὑπήκοον καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βία παρέλαβον, καίπερ ἔδοξαν οἱ Γορδυαῖοι διαφερόντως ἀρχιτεκτονικοὶ τινες εἶναι καὶ πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων ἔμπειροι· διόπερ αὐτοῖς εἰς ταῦτα ὁ Τιγράνης ἐχρήτο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Μεσοποταμία ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ προσέ-

<sup>1</sup> τε, after οἱ, Groskurd omits; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> Γορδυαίων, Tzschucke, from conj. of Wesseling (on *Diodorus* 14. 27), for Παρθυαίων; so the later editors.

distance from Thapsacus to Babylon, as Eratosthenes states, is four thousand eight hundred stadia; and that from the Zeugma<sup>1</sup> at Commagenê, where Mesopotamia begins, to Thapsacus, is not less than two thousand stadia.

23. The country alongside the mountains is quite fertile; the parts of it near the Euphrates and the Zeugma, both the present Zeugma at Commagenê and the old Zeugma at Thapsacus, are occupied by the Mygdones, who were so named by the Macedonians. In their country lies Nisibis, which is also called Mygdonian Antiocheia; it lies at the foot of Mt. Masius, and so do Tigranocerta and the regions of Carrhae and Nicephorium, and Chordiraza and Sinnaca, in which last Crassus was slain, being treacherously captured by Surena, the Parthian general.<sup>2</sup>

24. Near the Tigris lie the places belonging to the Gordyaeans, whom the ancients called Carduchians; and their cities are named Sareisa and Satalca and Pinaca, a very powerful fortress, with three citadels, each enclosed by a separate fortification of its own, so that they constitute, as it were, a triple city. But still it not only was held in subjection by the king of the Armenians, but the Romans took it by force, although the Gordyaeans had an exceptional repute as master-builders and as experts in the construction of siege engines; and it was for this reason that Tigranes used them in such work. But also the rest of Mesopotamia became subject to the Romans. Pompey assigned to Tigranes

<sup>1</sup> Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> 51 B.C.

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<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν, Groskurd, for ὧν; so the later editors.

νειμεν, ὅσα ἦν ἀξιόλογα· ἔστι γὰρ εὖβοτος ἡ χώρα καὶ εὐερνής, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἀειθαλῇ τρέφειν καὶ ἄρωμα τὸ ἄμωμον· καὶ λεοντοβότος ἐστί· φέρει δὲ καὶ τὸν νάφθαν καὶ τὴν γαγγίτιν λίθον, ἣν φεύγει τὰ ἔρπετά.

25. Λέγεται δὲ Γόρδυς ὁ Τριπτολέμου τὴν Γορδυηνὴν οἰκῆσαι, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Ἑρετριεῖς οἱ ἀναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ Περσῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν Τριπτολέμου δηλώσομεν ἐν τοῖς Συριακοῖς αὐτίκα.

26. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ ἀπωτέρω τῶν ὁρῶν, ἄνυδρα καὶ λυπρὰ ὄντα, ἔχουσιν οἱ Σκηνῖται Ἀραβες, ληστρικοὶ τινες καὶ ποιμενικοί, μεθιστάμενοι ῥαδίως εἰς ἄλλους τόπους, ὅταν ἐπιλείπωσιν αἱ νόμαί καὶ αἱ λεηλασίαι. τοῖς οὖν παρορέοις ὑπὸ τε τούτων κακοῦσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων· ὑπέρκεινται δὲ καὶ καταδυναστεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν· τέλος δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ τὸ πλεόν ἢ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις· ἐν πλευραῖς γάρ εἰσι κἀκεῖνοι, τὴν τε Μηδίαν ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν.

C 748 27. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγριος ῥεῖ καὶ ἄλλος ποταμός, Βασίλειος καλούμενος, καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀνθεμουσίαν ἄλλος, Ἀβόρρας· διὰ δὲ τῶν Σκηνιτῶν, ὑπὸ ἐνίων<sup>1</sup> Μαλίων νυνὶ λεγομένων, καὶ τῆς κείνων ἐρημίας ἡ ὁδὸς τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Σελεύκειαν καὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐμπορευομένοις ἐστί· ἡ μὲν οὖν διάβασις<sup>2</sup> τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐνίων, Groskurd, for τῶν.

<sup>2</sup> διάβασις F, ἀνάβασις other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> This stone is called *gagetes* (i.e. *jet*) by Pliny (10. 3 and 36. 19).



most of the places in this country, I mean all that are worth mentioning; for the country is rich in pasturage, and so rich in plants that it also produces the evergreens and a spice-plant called amomum; and it is a feeding-ground for lions; and it also produces naphtha and the stone called gangitis,<sup>1</sup> which is avoided by reptiles.

25. Gordys, the son of Triptolemus, is said to have taken up his abode in Gordyenê, and later also the Eretrians, who were carried off by the Persians. Of Triptolemus, however, I shall soon give a clear account in my description of the Syrians.<sup>2</sup>

26. The parts of Mesopotamia which incline towards the south and are farther from the mountains, which are waterless and barren, are occupied by the Arabian Scenitae, a tribe of brigands and shepherds, who readily move from one place to another when pasture and booty fail them. Accordingly, the people who live alongside the mountains are harassed not only by the Scenitae, but also by the Armenians, who are situated above them and, through their might, oppress them; and at last they are subject for the most part to the Armenians or else to the Parthians, for the Parthians too are situated on the sides of the country and possess both Media and Babylonia.

27. Between the Euphrates and the Tigris there flows another river, called Basileius; and in the neighbourhood of Anthemusia still another, called Aborras. The road for people travelling from Syria to Seleuceia and Babylon runs through the country of the Scenitae,<sup>3</sup> now called Malians by some writers, and through their desert. Such travellers cross the

<sup>2</sup> 16. 2. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Tent-dwellers.

Εὐφράτου κατὰ τὴν Ἀνθεμουσίαν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, τόπον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, σχοίνους τέτταρας διέχουσα, ἡ Βαμβύκη, ἣν καὶ Ἑδεσσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ἣ τιμῶσι τὴν Συρίαν θεὸν τὴν Ἀταργάτιν. διαβάντων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου μέχρι Σκηνῶν, ἀξιολόγου πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὄρους ἐπὶ τινος διώρυγος ἰδρυμένης. ἔστι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως μέχρι Σκηνῶν ἡμερῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ὁδός. καμηλῖται δ' εἰσὶ, καταγωγὰς ἔχοντες τοτὲ μὲν ὑδρείων εὐπόρους, τῶν λακκαίων τὸ πλεόν, τοτὲ δ' ἐπακτοῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς ὕδασι. παρέχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Σκηνῖται τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν μετριότητα τῆς τῶν τελῶν πράξεως, ἥς χάριν φεύγοντες τὴν παραποταμίαν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραβάλλονται, καταλιπόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἡμερῶν σχεδόν τι τριῶν ὁδόν. οἱ γὰρ παροικοῦντες ἐκατέρωθεν τὸν ποταμὸν φύλαρχοι, χώραν οὐκ εὐπορον ἔχοντες, ἦττον δὲ ἄπορον νεμόμενοι, δυναστείαν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ περιβεβλημένος<sup>1</sup> ἴδιον καὶ τελώνιον ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐ μέτριον. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοσούτοις καὶ τούτοις<sup>2</sup> αὐθάδεσι κοινὸν ἀφορισθῆναι μέτρον τὸ τῷ ἐμπόρῳ λυσιτελές. διέχουσι δὲ τῆς Σελευκείας αἱ Σκηναὶ σχοίνους ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

28. Ὅριον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ Εὐφράτης καὶ ἡ περαία· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων οἱ φύλαρχοι μέχρι Βαβυλωνίας, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον ἐκείνοις, οἱ δὲ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> περιβεβλημένος DFh, παραβεβλημενος other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τούτοις, Corais, for τοῖς.

Euphrates near Anthemusia, a place in Mesopotamia; and above the river, at a distance of four schoeni, lies Bambycê, which is also called Edessa and Hierapolis,<sup>1</sup> where the Syrian goddess Atargatis is worshipped; for after they cross the river, the road runs through the desert to Scenae, a noteworthy city situated on a canal towards the borders of Babylonia. The journey from the crossing of the river to Scenae requires twenty-five days. And on that road are camel-drivers who keep halting-places, which sometimes are well supplied with reservoirs, generally cisterns, though sometimes the camel-drivers use waters brought in from other places. The Scenitae are peaceful, and moderate towards travellers in the exaction of tribute, and on this account merchants avoid the land along the river and risk a journey through the desert, leaving the river on the right for approximately a three days' journey. For the chieftains who live along the river on both sides occupy country which, though not rich in resources, is less resourceless than that of others, and are each invested with their own particular domains and exact a tribute of no moderate amount. For it is hard among so many peoples, and that too among peoples that are self-willed, for a common standard of tribute to be set that is advantageous to the merchant. Scenae is eighteen schoeni distant from Seleuceia.

28. The Euphrates and the land beyond it constitute the boundary of the Parthian empire. But the parts this side the river are held by the Romans and the chieftains of the Arabians as far as Babylonia, some of these chieftains preferring to give ear to the

<sup>1</sup> Holy City.

Ῥωμαίοις προσέχοντες, οἷσπερ καὶ πλησιόχωροί  
 εἰσιν· ἦττον μὲν Σκηνῖται οἱ νομάδες οἱ τῷ  
 ποταμῷ πλησίον, μᾶλλον δ' οἱ ἄπωθεν καὶ πρὸς  
 τῇ εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβία. οἱ δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ  
 πρότερον μὲν ἐφρόντιζον τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 φιλίας, τὸν δὲ ἄρξαντα πολέμου Κράσσον ἡμύ-  
 ναντο· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρξαντες τῆς μάχης τῶν  
 ἴσων ἔτυχον, ἡνίκα ἐπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 Πάκωρον.<sup>1</sup> Ἀντώνιος δέ, συμβούλῳ τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ  
 χρώμενος, προϋδόθη καὶ κακῶς ἐπολέμησεν· ὁ  
 δ' ἐκείνῳ διαδεξάμενος Φραάτης, τοσοῦτον ἐσπού-  
 δασε περὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν  
 Σεβατόν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια ἔπεμψεν, ἃ κατὰ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι· καὶ καλέσας εἰς  
 σύλλογον Τίτιον τὸν ἐπιστατοῦντα τότε τῆς  
 Συρίας, τέτταρας παῖδας γνησίους ἐνεχείρισεν  
 ὁμηρα αὐτῷ, Σερασπαδάνην<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ῥωδάσπην<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 Φραατην<sup>4</sup> καὶ Βονώνην, καὶ γυναῖκας τούτων δυο  
 καὶ υἱεῖς τέτταρας, δεδιὼς τὰς στίσεις καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐπιτιθεμένους αὐτῷ· ἥδει γὰρ μηδένα ἰσχύσοντα  
 C 749 καθ' ἑαυτόν, ἂν μὴ τινα ὑπολάβῃ<sup>5</sup> τοῦ Ἀρσακίου  
 γένους διὰ τὸ εἶναι σφόδρα φιλαρσάκας τοῖς  
 Παρθυαίοις· ἐκποδῶν οὖν ἐποίησε τοὺς παῖδας,

<sup>1</sup> Something like the words τὸν τοῦ Ὠρώδου παῖδα appears to have fallen out after Πάκωρον.

<sup>2</sup> Σερασπαδάνην, Tzschucke, for Σατραπάδην D, Σαρασπάδην other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥωδάσπην, Tzschucke, for Κε. οσπαδην D, Κεροπάσπην other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Φραάτην x, Φραάνην other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπολάβῃ, all MSS. except *moz*, which read προσλάβῃ, Jones restores to the text. Corais reads προσλάβῃ; Meineke following Kramer, ἐπιλάβῃ; and Casaubon conj. ὑποβάλῃ.

Parthians and others to the Romans, to whom they are neighbours; less so <sup>1</sup> the nomad Scenitae who are near the river, but more so those that are far away and near Arabia Felix. The Parthians were also in former times eager for friendship with the Romans, but they defended themselves against Crassus, who began war with them;<sup>2</sup> and then, having begun the battle themselves, met with equal reverses when they sent Pacorus against Asia.<sup>3</sup> But Antony, using the Armenian <sup>4</sup> as counsellor, was betrayed and fared badly in his war. Phraates,<sup>5</sup> his successor, was so eager for friendship with Caesar Augustus that he even sent him the trophies which the Parthians had set up as memorials of their defeat of the Romans. And, having called Titius to a conference, who was at that time praefect of Syria, he put in his hands as hostages four of his legitimate sons, Seraspadanes and Rhodaspes and Phraates and Bonones, and two wives and four sons of these,<sup>6</sup> for fear of seditions and attempts upon his life; for he knew that no person could prevail against him unless that person supported some member of the house of Arsaces, because of the fact that the Parthians were extremely fond of the house. Accordingly, he got rid of his children,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* less inclined to give ear to the Romans.      <sup>2</sup> 54 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Pacorus (son of King Orodes) and Labienus overran Syria and part of Asia Minor, but were defeated (39 B.C.) by Ventidius, a legate of Antony. Pacorus again invaded Syria (38 B.C.), but was again defeated and fell in battle (see 16. 2. 8).

<sup>4</sup> Artavasdes, king of the Armenians (see 11. 13. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Phraates IV, who succeeded his father Orodes as king and commenced his reign by murdering his father, his thirty brothers, and his own son.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 6. 4. 2.

ἀφελέσθαι ζητῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην τοὺς κακουρ-  
γοῦντας. τῶν μὲν οὖν παίδων ὅσοι περιείσιν ἐν  
Ῥώμῃ δημοσίᾳ βασιλικῶς τημελοῦνται· καὶ οἱ  
λοιποὶ δὲ βασιλεῖς πρεσβευόμενοι καὶ εἰς συλ-  
λόγους ἀφικνούμενοι διατετελέκασιν.

## II

1. Ἡ δὲ Συρία πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ἀφώρισται τῇ  
Κιλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἀμανῷ· ἀπὸ θαλάττης δ' ἐπὶ  
τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου στάδιοί εἰσιν (ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἰσσυκοῦ κόλπου μέχρι τοῦ ζεύγματος τοῦ κατὰ  
Κομμαγηνήν)<sup>1</sup> οἱ τὸ λεχθὲν πλευρὸν ἀφορίζοντες  
οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων καὶ <sup>2</sup> τετρακοσίων· πρὸς  
ἑὼ δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου  
Σκηνίταις Ἀραψι· πρὸς δὲ νότον τῇ εὐδαίμονι  
Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ· πρὸς δύσιν δὲ τῷ  
Αἰγυπτίῳ τε καὶ Συριακῷ πελάγει μέχρι Ἰσσοῦ.

2. Μέρη δ' αὐτῆς τίθεμεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κιλικίας  
ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ τὴν τε Κομμαγηνήν  
καὶ τὴν Σελευκίδα καλουμένην τῆς Συρίας, ἔπειτα  
τὴν Κοίλιν Συρίαν, τελευταίαν δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ παρα-  
λίᾳ τὴν Φοινίκην, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.  
ἔτιοι δὲ τὴν Συρίαν ὅλην εἰς τε Κοιλοσύρους καὶ  
Σύρους<sup>3</sup> καὶ Φοίνικας διελόντες τούτοις ἀναμε-  
μῖχθαί φασι τέτταρα ἔθνη, Ἰουδαίους, Ἰδουμαίους,  
Γαζαίους, Ἀζωτίους, γεωργικοὺς μὲν, ὥς τοὺς  
Σύρους καὶ Κοιλοσύρους, ἐμπορικοὺς δέ, ὥς τοὺς  
Φοίνικας.

3. Καθόλου μὲν οὕτω, καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ ἡ Κομ-

<sup>1</sup> The words in parenthesis are suspected by Kramer and  
ejected by Meineke.

seeking thus to deprive evil-doers of that hope. Now all his surviving children are cared for in royal style, at public expense, in Rome, and the remaining kings<sup>1</sup> have also continued to send ambassadors and to go into conferences.<sup>2</sup>

## II

1. Syria is bounded on the north by Cilicia and Mt. Amanus; and the distance from the sea to the bridge of the Euphrates (from the Gulf of Issus to the bridge at Commagenê), which forms the boundary of that side, is not less than fourteen hundred stadia. It is bounded on the east by the Euphrates and by the Arabian Scenitae this side the Euphrates; and on the south by Arabia Felix and Aegypt; and on the west by the Aegyptian and Syrian Seas as far as Issus.

2. We set down as parts of Syria, beginning at Cilicia and Mt. Amanus, both Commagenê and the Seleucis of Syria, as the latter is called; and then Coelê-Syria, and last, on the seaboard, Phoenicia, and, in the interior, Judaea. Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coelo-Syrians and Syrians and Phoenicians, and say that four other tribes are mixed up with these, namely, Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazaeans, and Azotians, and that they are partly farmers, as the Syrians and Coelo-Syrians, and partly merchants, as the Phoenicians.

3. So much for Syria in general. But in detail:

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* his successors.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* with Roman praefects.

<sup>2</sup> *χιλίων καί*, Tzschucke inserts, citing Pliny 5. 12. 13; so the later editors.

<sup>3</sup> *καὶ Σύρους*, omitted by all MSS. except D.

μαγνηνὴ μικρά τις ἐστίν· ἔχει δ' ἐρυμνὴν πόλιν Σαμόσατα, ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασίλειον ὑπῆρχε· νῦν δ' ἐπαρχία γέγονε· χώρα δὲ περίκειται σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, ὀλίγη δέ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ νῦν ἐστι τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου· κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκεια ἱδρύται, φρούριον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, προσωρισμένον ὑπὸ Πομπηίου τῇ Κομμαγηνῇ.<sup>1</sup> ἐν ᾧ τὴν Σελήνην ἐπικληθεῖσαν Κλεοπάτραν Τιγράνης ἀνεῖλε, καθεύρας χρόνον τινά, ἡνίκα τῆς Συρίας ἐξέπεσεν.

4. Ἡ δὲ Σελευκὶς ἀρίστη μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν λεχθεισῶν μερίδων, καλεῖται δὲ Τετράπολις καὶ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐξεχούσας ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις, ἐπεὶ πλείους γέ εἰσι· μέγισται δὲ τέτταρες, Ἀντιόχεια ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ καὶ Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐν Πιερία καὶ Ἀπάμεια δὲ καὶ Λαοδίκεια, αἵπερ καὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀλλήλων ἀδελφαὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικίτορος κτίσματα· ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγίστη τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμος, ἡ δ' ἐρυμνοτάτη αὐτοῦ· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀπάμεια τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀπάμας, ἡ δὲ Λαοδίκεια τῆς μητρός. οἰκείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διήρητο<sup>2</sup> τέτταρας ἢ Σελευκίς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς ὅσας καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία, εἰς μίαν δ' ἢ Μεσοποταμία.<sup>3</sup> ἐστὶ δ' ἡ μὲν Ἀντιόχεια καὶ αὐτὴ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τῇ Κομμαγηνῇ μοι, for τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ other MSS.; so Tzschucke, Corais, and Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> διήρητο, first hand in D, for διηρεῖτο; so the editors.

<sup>3</sup> The editors suspect this clause. Groskurd conj. that Strabo wrote either εἰς μίαν δ' ἢ Κομμαγηνὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἢ Μεσοποταμία or εἰς μίαν δ' ἢ Κομμαγηνὴ καὶ ὁ οἶος ἢ Παραποταμία. Perhaps, too, some verb like ἐτέτακτο has fallen out after Μεσοποταμίαν.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῇ, Jones, for αὐτῇ.



Commagenê is rather a small country; and it has a city fortified by nature, Samosata, where the royal residence used to be; but it has now become a province;<sup>1</sup> and the city is surrounded by an exceedingly fertile, though small, territory. Here is now the bridge of the Euphrates; and near the bridge is situated Seleuceia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, which was included within the boundaries of Commagenê by Pompey; and it was here that Tigranes slew Selenê, surnamed Cleopatra, after imprisoning her for a time, when she had been banished from Syria.

4. Seleucis is not only the best of the above-mentioned portions of Syria, but also is called, and is, a Tetrapolis, owing to the outstanding cities in it, for it has several. But the largest are four: Antiocheia near Daphnê, Seleuceia in Pieria, and also Apameia and Laodiceia; and these cities, all founded by Seleucus Nicator, used to be called sisters, because of their concord with one another. Now the largest of these cities<sup>2</sup> was named after his father and the one most strongly fortified by nature after himself, and one of the other two, Apameia, after his wife Apama, and the other, Laodiceia, after his mother. Appropriately to the Tetrapolis, Seleucis was also divided into four satrapies, as Poseidonius says, the same number into which Coelê-Syria was divided, though Mesopotamia formed only one satrapy.<sup>3</sup> Antiocheia is likewise

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* a Roman province.

<sup>2</sup> Antiocheia.

<sup>3</sup> The text seems to be corrupt. Groskurd conjectures that Strabo wrote either "Commagenê, like Mesopotamia, formed one satrapy," or "Commagenê, and likewise Parapotamia, formed one satrapy" (see critical note).

τετράπολις, ἐκ τεττάρων συνεστῶσα μερῶν· τε-  
τείχισται δὲ καὶ κοινῶ τείχει καὶ ἰδίῳ καθ'  
ἕκαστον τὸ κτίσμα· τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ὁ  
Νικάτωρ συνώκισε, μεταγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγονίας  
τοὺς οἰκήτορας, ἣν πλησίον ἐτείχισεν Ἀντίγονος  
ὁ Φιλίππου μικρὸν πρότερον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τοῦ  
πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐστὶ κτίσμα, τὸ δὲ  
τρίτον Σελεύκου τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον  
Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς.

5. Καὶ δὴ καὶ μητρόπολις ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς  
Συρίας, καὶ τὸ βασιλείον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρυτο τοῖς  
ἄρχουσι τῆς χώρας· οὐ πολὺ τε λείπεται καὶ  
δυνάμει καὶ μεγέθει Σελευκείας τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει  
καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ· συνώκισε  
δ' ὁ Νικάτωρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους<sup>1</sup>  
Τριπτολέμου, περὶ οὗ μικρῶ<sup>2</sup> πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη-  
μεν· διόπερ Ἀντιοχεῖς ὡς ἥρωα τιμῶσι καὶ ἄγου-  
σιν ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ Κασίῳ ὅρει τῷ περὶ Σελεύκειαν.  
φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀργείων πεμφθέντα ἐπὶ τὴν  
Ἰοῦς ζήτησιν, ἐν Τύρῳ πρῶτον ἀφανοῦς γενη-  
θείσης, πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἐνταῦθα  
δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τινας Ἀργείων κτίσαι τὴν  
Ταρσὸν ἀπελθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους  
συνακολουθήσαντας εἰς τὴν ἐξῆς παραλίαν, ἀπο-  
γνόντας τῆς ζητήσεως, ἐν τῇ ποταμίᾳ τοῦ Ὀρόντου  
καταμεῖναι σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸν μὲν οὖν υἱὸν τοῦ  
Τριπτολέμου Ἰόρδυν, ἔχοντά τινας τῶν σὺν τῷ  
πατρὶ λαῶν, εἰς τὴν Γορδυαίαν ἀποικῆσαι· τῶν  
δ' ἄλλων τοὺς ἀπογόνους συνοίκους γενέσθαι τοῖς  
Ἀντιοχεῦσιν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπογόνους Eί, ἀπογόνος w, ἀπὸ γένους other MSS.

a Tetrapolis, since it consists of four parts; and each of the four settlements is fortified both by a common wall and by a wall of its own. Now Nicator founded the first of the settlements, transferring thither the settlers from Antigonía, which had been built near it a short time before by Antigonus; the second was founded by the multitude of settlers; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes.

5. Furthermore, Antiocheia is the metropolis of Syria; and here was established the royal residence for the rulers of the country. And it does not fall much short, either in power or in size, of Seleuceia on the Tigris or Alexandria in Aegypt. Nicator also settled here the descendants of Triptolemus, whom I mentioned a little before.<sup>1</sup> And it is on this account that the Antiocheians worship him as a hero and celebrate a festival in his honour on Mt. Casius in the neighbourhood of Seleuceia. It is said that he was sent by the Argives in search of Io, who disappeared first in Tyre, and that he wandered through Cilicia; and that there some of his Argive companions left him and founded Tarsus, but the others accompanied him into the next stretch of sea-board, gave up the search in despair, and remained with him in the river-country of the Orontes; and that Gordys, the son of Triptolemus, along with some of the peoples who had accompanied his father, emigrated to Gordyaea, whereas the descendants of the rest became fellow-inhabitants with the Antiocheians.

<sup>1</sup> 16. 1. 25.

<sup>2</sup> μικρόν F; so Meineke.

6. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἡ Δάφνη, κατοικία μετρία μέγα δὲ καὶ συνηρεφὲς ἄλσος, διαρρεόμενον πηγαίοις ὕδασιν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἄσυλον τέμενος καὶ νεῶς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πανηγυρίζειν ἔθος τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἀστυγείτοσι· κύκλος δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ὀγδοήκοντα στάδιοι.

7. Ρεῖ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πλησίον Ὀρόντης ποταμός· οὗτος δ' ἐκ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, εἴθ' ὑπὸ γῆν ἐνεχθεῖς, ἀναδίδωσι πάλιν τὸ ρεῦμα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀπαμέων εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν προελθὼν, πλησιάσας τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν καταφέρεται τὴν κατὰ Σελεύκειαν· τὸ δ' ὄνομα τοῦ γεφυρώσαντος αὐτὸν Ὀρόντου μετέλαβε, καλούμενος πρότερον Τυφῶν. μυθεύουσι δ' ἐνταῦθά που τὰ περὶ τὴν κεραύνωσιν τοῦ Τυφῶνος καὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμους, περὶ ὧν εἶπομεν καὶ C 751 πρότερον· φασὶ δὲ τυπτόμενον τοῖς κεραυνοῖς (εἶναι δὲ δράκοντα) φεύγειν κατάδυσιν ζητοῦντα· τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀλκοῖς ἐντεμεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ ρεῖθρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καταδύντα δ' εἰς γῆν ἀναρρῆξαι τὴν πηγὴν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦνομα τῷ ποταμῷ. πρὸς δύσιν μὲν οὖν θάλαττα ὑπόκειται τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ Σελεύκειαν, πρὸς ἣ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὁ Ὀρόντης ποιεῖται, διεχούσῃ τῶν μὲν ἐκβολῶν σταδίους τετταράκοντα, τῆς δ' Ἀντιοχείας ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. ἀνάπλους δ' ἐκ θαλάττης ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν αὐθημερὸν. πρὸς ἑὼ δ' ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Βαμβύκη καὶ ἡ Βέροια καὶ ἡ Ἡράκλεια

<sup>1</sup> 12. 8. 19, 13. 4. 6.

6. Lying above Antiocheia, at a distance of forty stadia, is Daphnê, a settlement of moderate size; and also a large, thickly-shaded grove intersected by fountain-streams, in the midst of which there is an asylum-precinct and a temple of Apollo and Artemis. Here it is the custom for the Antiocheians and the neighbouring peoples to hold a general festival. The grove is eighty stadia in circuit.

7. The Orontes River flows near the city. This river has its sources in Coelê-Syria; and then, after flowing underground, issues forth again; and then, proceeding through the territory of the Apameians into that of Antiocheia, closely approaches the latter city and flows down to the sea near Seleuceia. Though formerly called Typhon, its name was changed to that of Orontes, the man who built a bridge across it. Here, somewhere, is the setting of the mythical story of Typhon's stroke by lightning and of the mythical story of the Arimi, of whom I have already spoken.<sup>1</sup> They say that Typhon (who, they add, was a dragon), when struck by the bolts of lightning, fled in search of a descent underground; that he not only cut the earth with furrows and formed the bed of the river, but also descended underground and caused the fountain to break forth to the surface; and that the river got its name from this fact. Now on the west, below Antiocheia and Seleuceia, lies the sea; and it is near Seleuceia that the Orontes forms its outlets, this city being forty stadia distant from the outlets, and one hundred and twenty from Antiocheia. Inland voyages from the sea to Antiocheia are made on the same day one starts. To the east of Antiocheia are the Euphrates, as also Bambycê and Beroea and Hera-

τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ, πολίχνια τυραννούμενά ποτε ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέωνος. διέχει δ' ἡ Ἡράκλεια σταδίους εἴκοσι τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱεροῦ τῆς Κυρρηστίδος.<sup>1</sup>

8. Εἵτα ἡ Κυρρηστικὴ<sup>2</sup> μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐστὶ τό τε Ἀμανὸν πλησίον καὶ ἡ Κομμαγηνή· συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κυρρηστικὴ μέχρι δεῦρο παρατείνουσα. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις Γίνδαρος, ἀκρόπολις τῆς Κυρρηστικῆς καὶ ληστήριον εὐφνές, καὶ Ἡράκλειόν τι καλούμενον<sup>3</sup> πλησίον· περὶ οὓς τόπους ὑπὸ Οὐεντιδίου Πάκορος διεφθάρη, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν τοῦ Παρθυαίου παίδων, ἐπιστρατεύσας τῇ Συρίᾳ. τῇ δὲ Γινδάρῳ<sup>4</sup> συνάπτουσιν<sup>5</sup> αἱ Πάγραι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος, χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τοῦ Ἀμανοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἀμανίδων πυλῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν κείμενον. ὑποπίπτει μὲν οὖν ταῖς Πάγραις τὸ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πεδίων, δι' οὗ ῥεῖ ὁ Ἄρκευθος ποταμὸς καὶ ὁ Ὀρόντης καὶ ὁ Λαβώτας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐστὶ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ ὁ Μελεάγρου χάραξ καὶ ὁ Οἰνοπάρας ποταμός· ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Βάλαν Ἀλέξανδρον μάχῃ νικήσας ὁ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ τραύματος. ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῶν λόφος Τραπεζῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος καλούμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ Οὐεντίδιος πρὸς Φρανικάτην,<sup>6</sup> τὸν Παρθυαῖον

<sup>1</sup> Κυρρηστίδος, Xylander, for Καριστίδος *wr*, Κυριστίδος other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Κυρρηστικὴ, Xylander, for Κυρριστικὴ; and so in subsequent uses of the word.

<sup>3</sup> Dh read ἱερὸν after καλούμενον; so Corais and Meineke.

<sup>4</sup> Γινδάρῳ, the editors, for τὴν δάρων D, Τηνδάρῳ C, Τινδάρῳ other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> E inserts ᾧ before συνάπτουσιν.

cleia, small towns once ruled by the tyrant Dionysius, the son of Heracleon. Heracleia is twenty stadia distant from the temple of Athena Cyrrhestis.

8. Then one comes to Cyrrhesticê, which extends as far as the territory of Antiocheia. On the north, near it, lie both Mt. Amanus and Commagenê. Cyrrhesticê borders on these, extending as far as that. Here is Gindarus, a city, which is the acropolis of Cyrrhesticê and a natural stronghold for robbers; and near it is a place called Heracleium.<sup>1</sup> It was in the neighbourhood of these places that Pacorus, the eldest of the sons of the Parthian king, was killed by Ventidius, when he made an expedition against Syria.<sup>2</sup> On the borders of Gindarus lies Pagrae, which is in the territory of Antiocheia and is a natural stronghold situated near the top of the pass over Mt. Amanus, which leads from the Gates of Amanus into Syria. Now below Pagrae lies the plain of the Antiocheians, through which flow the Arceuthus and Orontes and Labotas Rivers; and in this plain is the palisade of Meleagrer, as also the Oenoparas River, on the banks of which Ptolemy Philometor conquered Alexander Balas but died from a wound.<sup>3</sup> Above these places lies a hill which, from its similarity,<sup>4</sup> is called Trapezon, whereon Ventidius had the fight with Phranticates,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Heracleium" implies a temple of Heracles.

<sup>2</sup> See 16. 1. 28.

<sup>3</sup> In 146 B.C. He fell from his horse.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* from its table-like shape.

<sup>5</sup> The correct spelling is probably "Pharnapates," as in Dio Cassius (48. 41) and Plutarch (*Antony* 33).

<sup>6</sup> Φρανικάτην, emended to Φαρναπάτης by Tzschucke and Corais.

στρατηγόν, ἔσχε τὸν ἀγῶνα. πρὸς θαλάττῃ δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ Σελεύκεια καὶ ἡ Πιερία, ὄρος συνεχὲς τῷ Ἀμαίῳ, καὶ ἡ Ῥωσός, μεταξὺ Ἰσσοῦ καὶ Σελευκείας ἰδρυμένη. ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Σελεύκεια πρότερον Ὕδατος Ποταμοί· ἔρυμα δέ ἐστιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ κρείττων<sup>1</sup> βίας ἢ πόλις. διόπερ καὶ ἐλευθέραν αὐτὴν ἔκρινε Πομπήιος, ἀποκλείσας Τιγράνην. πρὸς νότον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀντιοχεῦσιν Ἀπάμεια, ἐν μεσογαίᾳ κειμένη, τοῖς δὲ Σελευκεῦσι τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος καὶ τὸ Ἀντικάσιον· ἔτι δὲ πρότερον μετὰ τὴν Σελεύκειαν αἱ ἐκβολαὶ τοῦ Ὀρόντου· εἶτα τὸ Νυμφαῖον, σπήλαιόν τι ἱερόν· εἶτα τὸ Κάσιον· ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ποσειδίου πόλιν καὶ Ἡράκλεια.

9. Εἶτα Λαοδικεία, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ κάλλιστα ἐκτισμένη καὶ εὐλίμενος πόλις, χώραν<sup>2</sup> τε ἔχουσα C 752 πολυοῖνον πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐκαρπία· τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν αὕτη παρέχει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ οἴνου, τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῆς πόλεως ὄρος πᾶν κατάμπελον ἔχουσα μέχρι σχεδόν τι τῶν κορυφῶν· αἱ δὲ κορυφαὶ τῆς μὲν Λαοδικείας πολὺ ἄπωθέν εἰσι, ἡρέμα ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀνακλινόμεναι· τῆς Ἀπαμείας δ' ὑπερκύπτουσιν ἐπ' ὄρθιον ὕψος ἀνατεταμέναι. ἐλύπησε δ' οὐ μετρίως Δολαβέλλας καταφυγὼν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐμπολιορκεθὲς ὑπὸ Κασσίου μέχρι θανάτου, συνδιαφθείρας ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῆς πόλεως πολλὰ μέρη.

<sup>1</sup> κρείττων CDhιμοαζ, κ εἴττον other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> χώραν, Corais, for χῶρον.



the Parthian general. Near the sea in this region lie Seleuceia, and Pieria, a mountain continuous with Mt. Amanus, and Rhosus, which is situated between Issus and Seleuceia. Seleuceia was in earlier times called Hydatos-Potamoi.<sup>1</sup> The city is a notable fortress and is too strong to be taken by force; and for this reason Pompey, after shutting Tigranes off from it,<sup>2</sup> adjudged it a free city. To the south of the Antiocheians is Apameia, which is situated in the interior; and to the south of the Seleuceians are Mts. Casius and Anticasius; and still further after Seleuceia one comes to the outlets of the Orontes; and then to the Nymphaeum, a kind of sacred cave; and then to Casium; and next to Poseidium, a small town, and to Heracleia.

9. Then one comes to Laodiceia, situated on the sea. It is a city most beautifully built, has a good harbour, and has territory which, besides its other good crops, abounds in wine. Now this city furnishes the most of the wine to the Alexandreians, since the whole of the mountain that lies above the city and is possessed by it is covered with vines almost as far as the summits. And while the summits are at a considerable distance from Laodiceia, sloping up gently and gradually from it, they tower above Apameia, extending up to a perpendicular height. Laodiceia was afflicted in no moderate degree by Dolabella, when he fled to it for refuge, was besieged in it by Cassius till death, and destroyed, along with himself, many parts of the city.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Tigranes had tried for fourteen years (84-70 B.C.) to capture the city.

<sup>3</sup> To avoid being captured by Cassius, Dolabella ordered one of his soldiers to kill him (43 B.C.).

10. Ἡ δ' Ἀπάμεια καὶ πόλιν<sup>1</sup> ἔχει τὸ πλεόν εὐερκῇ· λόφος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν πεδίῳ κοίλῳ τετειχισμένος καλῶς, ὃν ποιεῖ χερρουνσιζόντα ὁ Ὀρόντης καὶ λίμνη περικειμένη μεγάλη καὶ εἰς ἔλη πλατέα λειμῶνάς τε βουβότους καὶ ἵπποβότους διαχεομένη<sup>2</sup> ὑπερβάλλοντας τὸ μέγεθος· ἥ τε δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς κεῖται, καὶ δὴ καὶ Χερρόνησος ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκός, καὶ χώρας εὐπορεῖ παμπόλλης εὐδαίμονος, δι' ἧς ὁ Ὀρόντης ῥεῖ· καὶ περιπόλια<sup>3</sup> συχνὰ ἐν ταύτῃ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας ἔτρεφε καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ οἱ ὕστερον βασιλεῖς. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Πέλλα ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων Μακεδόνων διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλείους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι τῶν στρατευομένων, τὴν δὲ Πέλλαν ὥσπερ μητρόπολιν γεγονέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὴν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρίδα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ λογιστήριον τὸ στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἵπποτρόφιον· θήλειαι μὲν ἵπποι βασιλικάι πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων, ὀχρεῖα δὲ τούτων τριακόσια· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ πωλοδάμναι καὶ ὄπλομάχοι καὶ ὅσοι παιδευταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμισθοδοτοῦντο. δηλοῖ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην ἥ τε τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐπικληθέντος Διοδότου παραύξεις καὶ ἐπίθεις τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Σύρων, ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμη-

<sup>1</sup> Corais emends πόλιν to ἀκρόπολιν.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. read λίμνη . . . καὶ ἔλη . . . διαχεομένους. Corais alters as above. Letronne conj. εἰς λίμνην; Kramer κατὰ λίμνην. B. Niese (*Emend. Str.* 14) would parenthesisε λόφος . . . Ὀρόντης and emend λίμνη περικειμένη to λίμνην παρακειμένην: and so A. Vogel (*Philologus* 41, p. 32).

10. Apameia also has a city<sup>1</sup> that is in general well fortified; for it is a beautifully fortified hill in a hollow plain, and this hill is formed into a peninsula by the Orontes and by a large lake which lies near by and spreads into broad marshes and exceedingly large cattle-pasturing and horse-pasturing meadows.<sup>2</sup> So the city is thus securely situated; and so, too, it was called Cherronesus,<sup>3</sup> because of the fact in the case; and it is well supplied with a very large and fertile territory, through which the Orontes flows; and in this territory there are numerous dependent towns. Here, too, Seleucus Nicator kept the five hundred elephants and the greater part of the army, as did also the later kings. It was also called Pella at one time, by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians. Here, too, were the war-office and the royal stud. The royal stud consisted of more than thirty thousand mares and three hundred stallions. Here, too, were colt-breakers and instructors in heavy-armed warfare, and all instructors who were paid to teach the arts of war. The power of this city is clearly shown by the ascendancy of Tryphon,<sup>4</sup> surnamed Diodotus, and by his attack upon the kingdom of the Syrians, when he made this city the base of his operations.

<sup>1</sup> For "city" Groskurd conjectures "acropolis."

<sup>2</sup> The text is corrupt (see critical note).

<sup>3</sup> Peninsula.

<sup>4</sup> Usurper of the throne of Syria, reigning 142-139 B.C.

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<sup>3</sup> *περιπόλια*, Corais, for *περιπολεῖ*.

θέντος. ἐγεγένητο μὲν γὰρ ἐν Κασιανοῖς,<sup>1</sup> φρουρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀπαμέων γῆς, τραφεῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ καὶ συσταθεῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ νεωτερίζειν ὥρμησεν, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τῶν περιοικίδων, Λαρίσης τε καὶ τῶν Κασιανῶν<sup>2</sup> καὶ Μεγάρων καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, αἱ συνετέλουν εἰς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἅπασαι· ἐκείνός τε δὴ βασιλεὺς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀνεδείχθη καὶ ἀντέσχε πολὺν χρόνον· Βάσσος τε Κεκίλιος μετὰ δυεῖν ταγμάτων ἀποστήσας τὴν Ἀπάμειαν διεκαρτέρησε τοσοῦτον χρόνον πολιορκούμενος ὑπὸ δυεῖν στρατοπέδων μεγάλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν, ὥστ' οὐ πρότερον εἰς τὴν C 753 ἔξουσίαν ἦκε, πρὶν ἐκὼν ἐνεχέρισεν ἑαυτόν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐβεβούλητο· καὶ γὰρ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπέτρεφεν ἡ χώρα καὶ συμμάχων εὐπόρει<sup>3</sup> τῶν πλησίον φυλάρχων, ἐχόντων εὐερκῇ χωρίᾳ· ὧν ἔστι καὶ ἡ Λυσίας, ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης κειμένη τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαμείᾳ, καὶ Ἀρέθουσα ἡ Σαμψικεράμου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου, τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδός, φυλάρχων τοῦ Ἑμισσηνῶν ἔθνους· οὐ πόρρω δ' οὐδ' Ἡλιούπολις καὶ Χαλκίς ἡ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Μενναίου, τῷ τὸν Μασσύαν<sup>4</sup> κατέχοντι καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίων ὀρεινὴν. τῶν δὲ συμμαχούντων τῷ Βάσσῳ ἦν καὶ Ἀλχαίδαμνος,<sup>5</sup> ὁ τῶν Ῥαμβαίων βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου νομάδων· ἦν δὲ φίλος Ῥωμαίων, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ νομίσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἐκπεσὼν

<sup>1</sup> Κασιανοῖς, Groskurd, for Κοσιανοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Κασιανῶν orz, Κασσιανῶν other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἡπόρει Cmoxx.

<sup>4</sup> Μασύαν Di, Μασίαν r, Μαρσύαν moxx (Polybius 5. 45. 61) and editors before Kramer.

For he was born at Casiana, a fortress of the Apameian country, and, having been reared at Apameia and closely associated with the king and the king's court, when he set out to effect a revolution, he got his resources from this city and also from its dependencies, I mean Larisa and Casiana and Megara and Apollonia and other places like them, all of which were tributary to Apameia. So Tryphon was proclaimed king of this country and held out for a long time. Cecilius<sup>1</sup> Bassus, with two cohorts, caused Apameia to revolt and, though besieged by two large Roman armies, strongly resisted them for so long a time that he did not come under their power until he voluntarily put himself in their hands upon his own terms; for the country supplied his army with provisions, and he had plenty of allies, I mean the neighbouring chieftains, who possessed strongholds; and among these places was Lysias, which is situated above the lake that lies near Apameia, as also Arethusa, belonging to Sampsiceramus and his son Iamblichus, chieftains of the tribe of the Emeseni; and at no great distance, also, were Heliupolis and Chalcis, which latter was subject to Ptolemaeus the son of Mennaeus, who possessed Massyas and the mountainous country of the Ituraeans. Among the allies of Bassus was also Alchaedamnus, king of the Rhambaeans, who were nomads this side the Euphrates River; and he was a friend of the Romans, but upon the belief that he was being treated unjustly by the Roman governors

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for "Caecilius."

<sup>5</sup> Ἀλχαΐδαμος *Dmoz* Ἀλχαυδόνιος Dio Cassius (47. 27).

εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐμισθοφόρει τότε τῷ Βάσσῳ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐστὶ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ Στωικός, ἀνὴρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων πολυμαθέστατος.

11. "Ομορος δ' ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀπαμέων πρὸς ἑῷ μὲν ἢ τῶν φυλάρχων Ἀράβων καλουμένη Παραποταμία καὶ ἡ Χαλκιδικὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μασσίου<sup>1</sup> καθήκουσα καὶ πᾶσα ἢ πρὸς νότον τοῖς Ἀπαμεῦσιν, ἀνδρῶν Σκηνιτῶν τὸ πλεον· παραπλήσιοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ νομάσιν· αἰεὶ δ' οἱ πλησιαίτεροι τοῖς Σύροις ἡμερώτεροι καὶ ἦττον Ἀραβες καὶ Σκηνῖται, ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες συντεταγμένας μᾶλλον, καθάπερ ἡ Σαμψικεράμου<sup>2</sup> Ἀρέθουσα καὶ ἡ Γαμβάρου καὶ ἡ<sup>3</sup> Θέμελλα καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων.

12. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ μεσόγαια τῆς Σελευκίδος, ὁ δὲ παράπλους ὁ λοιπὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος· τῇ γὰρ Λαοδικείᾳ πλησιάζει πολίχνια, τό τε Ποσείδιον καὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον καὶ τὰ Γάβαλα· εἴτ' ἤδη ἡ τῶν Ἀραδίων παραλία, Πάλτος καὶ Βαλαναία καὶ Κάρνος, τὸ ἐπίνειον τῆς Ἀράδου λιμένιον ἔχον· εἴτ' Ἐνυδρα καὶ Μάραθος, πόλις Φοινίκων ἀρχαία κατεσπασμένη. τὴν δὲ χώραν Ἀράδιοι κατεκληρούχησαν καὶ τὰ Σίμυρα τὸ ἐφεξῆς χωρίον· τούτοις δ' ἡ Ὀρθωσία συνεχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Ἐλεύθερος ὁ πλησίον ποταμός, ὃν περ

<sup>1</sup> Μασσίου F, Μασίου i, Κοσσίου x, Μαρσίου moz.

<sup>2</sup> Σαμψικεράμου CD.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἡ, Casaubon, Corais, and Groskurd would delete, making "Themella" the abode of Gambarus. C. Müller conj. that Θέμελλα is an error for Θέλεδα, a place about 25 miles east of Arethusa.

<sup>1</sup> See critical note.

he retired to Mesopotamia and then went into the service of Bassus as a mercenary. Poseidonius, the Stoic, the most learned of all philosophers of my time, was a native of Apameia.

11. Bordering on the country of the Apameians, on the east, is the Paropotamia, as it is called, of the Arabian chieftains, as also Chalcidicê, which extends down from Massyas, and all the country to the south of the Apameians, which belongs for the most part to Scenitae. These Scenitae are similar to the nomads in Mesopotamia. And it is always the case that the peoples are more civilised in proportion to their proximity to the Syrians, and that the Arabians and Scenitae are less so, the former having governments that are better organised, as, for example, that of Arethusa under Sampsicramus, and that of Gambarus, and that of Themellas,<sup>1</sup> and those of other chieftains like them.

12. Such is the interior of the territory of Seleucia. But the remainder of the coast from Laodiceia is as follows: near Laodiceia are three towns, Poseidium and Heracleium and Gabala; and then forthwith one comes to the seaboard of the Aradians,<sup>2</sup> where are Paltus and Balanaea and Carnus, this last being the naval station of Aradus and having a harbour; and then to Enydra and Marathus, the latter an ancient city of the Phoenicians, now in ruins. Aradians divided up this country among themselves, as also Simyra, the place that comes next thereafter; and continuous with these places is Orthosia, as also Eleutherus, the river near by, which some writers make the boundary of the

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the seaboard on the *mainland* belonging to the Aradians, who inhabited the island called Aradus.

ὄριον ποιοῦνται τινες Σελευκίδος πρὸς τὴν Φοινί-  
κην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν.

13. Πρόκειται δ' ἡ Ἀραδος ῥαχιώδους τινὸς καὶ  
ἀλιμένου παραλίας, μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἐπινείου αὐτῆς  
μάλιστα καὶ τῆς Μαράθου, διέχουσα τῆς γῆς στα-  
δίους εἴκοσιν. ἔστι δὲ πέτρα περίκλυστος, ὅσον  
ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον σταδίων, πλήρης κατοικίας·  
τοσαύτη δ' εὐανδρία κέχρηται μέχρι καὶ νῦν, ὥστε  
πολυρόφους οἰκοῦσι τὰς οἰκίας. ἔκτισαν δ'  
αὐτὴν φυγάδες, ὥς φασιν, ἐκ Σιδόνης. τὴν δ'  
ὕδρεϊαν τὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀμβρίων καὶ λακκαίων  
C 754 ὑδάτων ἔχουσι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς περαίας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
πολέμοις ἐκ τοῦ πόρου μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως  
ὕδρευονται, πηγὴν ἔχοντος ἀφθόνου ὕδατος· εἰς  
ἣν περικαταστρέφεται κλίβανος, καθεθεὶς ἀπὸ  
τοῦ ὕδρευομένου σκάφους, μολιβοῦς, εὐρύστομος,  
εἰς πυθμένα συνηγμένος στενόν, ἔχοντα τρῆμα  
μέτριον· τῷ δὲ πυθμένι περιέσφιγκται σωλὴν  
σκύτινος, εἴτε ἄσκωμα δεῖ λέγειν, ὁ δεχόμενος  
τὸ ἀναθλιβόμενον ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς διὰ τοῦ κλιβάνου  
ὕδωρ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἀναθλιβὲν τὸ τῆς  
θαλάττης ἐστί· περιμείναντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ καθαροῦ  
καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος ῥύσιν, ὑπολαμβάνουσιν εἰς  
ἀγγεῖα παρεσκευασμένα, ὅσον ἂν δέη, καὶ πορθ-  
μεύουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

14. Τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἀράδιοι καθ' αὐτοὺς  
ἐβασιλεύοντο παραπλησίως ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἐκάστη πόλεω τῶν Φοινικίδων· ἔπειτα  
τὰ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰ δ' οἱ Μακεδόνες, τὰ δὲ νῦν  
Ῥωμαῖοι μετέθηκαν εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν τάξιν. οἱ  
δ' οὖν Ἀράδιοι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Φοινίκων ὑπῆ-



territory of Seleuceia on the side towards Phoenicia and Coelê-Syria.

13. Aradus lies off a surfy and harbourless sea-board; it lies approximately between its naval station and Marathus, and is twenty stadia distant from the mainland. It consists of a rock washed all round by the sea, is about seven stadia in circuit, and is full of dwellings; and it has had such a large population, even down to the present time, that the people live in houses with many stories. It was founded, as they say, by exiles from Sidon. They get their water-supply partly from the rains and cisterns and partly from their territory on the mainland. In war-times they get water from the channel at a short distance in front of the city. This channel has an abundant spring; and into this spring the people let down from the water-fetching boat an inverted, wide-mouthed funnel made of lead, the upper part of which contracts into a stem with a moderate-sized hole through it; and round this stem they fasten a leathern tube (unless I should call it bellows), which receives the water that is forced up from the spring through the funnel. Now the first water that is forced up is sea-water, but the boatmen wait for the flow of pure and potable water and catch all that is needed in vessels prepared for the purpose and carry it to the city.

14. Now in ancient times the Aradians were governed independently by kings, as was also the case with each of the other Phoenician cities; but afterwards the Persians, and then the Macedonians, and to-day the Romans, have reduced them to their present order of government. The Aradians, however, together with the other Phoenicians, subjected

κουνον τῶν Συριακῶν βασιλέων, ἅτε φίλων· ἔπειτα στασιασάντων ἀδελφῶν δυεῖν, τοῦ τε Καλλινίκου Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἰέρακος προσαγορευθέντος, προσθέμενοι τῷ Καλλινίκῳ ποιοῦνται συμβάσεις, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι δέχεσθαι τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας παρ' αὐτούς, καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι ἄκοντας· μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν ἑάν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαι βασιλέα. συνέβη δὲ ἐκ τούτου μεγάλα αὐτοῖς πλεονεκτήματα· οἱ γὰρ καταφεύγοντες ἐπ' αὐτούς οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἦσαν, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰ μέγιστα πεπιστευμένοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων δεδιότες· ἐπιξενούμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς εὐεργέτας ἡγοῦντο καὶ σωτῆρας τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, ἀπεμνημόνεον τε τὴν χάριν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπανελθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν· ὥστ' ἐκ τούτου χώραν τε ἐκτήσαντο τῆς περαίας πολλήν, ἧς τὴν πλείστην ἔχουσι καὶ νῦν, καὶ τὰλλα εὐθῆρουν. προσέθεσαν δὲ τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ πρόνοιαν καὶ φιλοπονίαν πρὸς τὴν θαλαττουργίαν· ὀρῶντές τε τοὺς γειτονεύοντας Κίλικας τὰ πειρατήρια συνισταμένους οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐκοινώνουν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως.

15. Μετὰ δὲ Ὀρθωσίαν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον Τρίπολις, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν εἰληφυῖα· τριῶν γάρ ἐστι πόλεων κτίσμα, Τύρου, Σιδόνος, Ἀράδου· τῇ δὲ Τριπόλει συνεχές ἐστι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, εἰς ὃ τελευτᾷ ὁ Λίβανος τὸ ὄρος· μεταξὺ δὲ Τριήρης, χωρίον τι.

16. Δύο δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὄρη τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν

<sup>1</sup> "Tri-city."

<sup>2</sup> "Face-of-God."

themselves to the Syrian kings as friends of theirs; and then, when a quarrel broke out between two brothers, Callinicus Seleucus and Antiochus Hierax, as he was called, the Aradians joined with Callinicus and made an agreement with him whereby they were to be permitted to receive refugees from the kingdom and not to give them up against their will; they were not, however, to permit refugees to sail from the island without permission from the king. From this agreement they got great advantages; for those who fled for refuge to their country were not ordinary people, but men who had held the highest trusts and were in fear of the direst consequences; and, being received as guests, they regarded their hosts as their benefactors and saviours, and requited the favour, in particular when they went back to their homeland; and it is from this fact, therefore, that the Aradians got possession of a considerable territory on the mainland, most of which they hold even at present, and otherwise have prospered. To this good fortune they added both prudence and industry in their maritime affairs; and when they saw that the neighbouring Cilicians were organising piratical adventures they would not even once take part with them in a business of that kind.

15. After Orthosia and the Eleutherus River one comes to Tripolis,<sup>1</sup> which has taken its name from what is the fact in the case, for it is a foundation consisting of three cities, Tyre and Sidon and Aradus. Contiguous to Tripolis is Theuprosopon,<sup>2</sup> where Mt. Libanus terminates; and between the two lies Trieres, a kind of stronghold.

16. Here are two mountains, Libanus and Antili-

C 755 Κοίλην καλουμένην Συρίαν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἂν παράλληλα, ὅτε Λίβανος καὶ ὁ Ἀντιλίβανος, μικρὸν ὑπερθεν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχόμενα ἄμφω· ὁ μὲν Λίβανος τῆς κατὰ Τρίπολιν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μάλιστα πρόσωπον, ὁ δ' Ἀντιλίβανος τῆς κατὰ Σιδόνα· τελευτῶσι δ' ἐγγύς πως τῶν Ἀραβίων ὁρῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς καὶ τῶν Τραχώνων<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εἰς ἄλλα ὄρη γεώλοφα καὶ καλλίκαρπα. ἀπολείπουσι δὲ μεταξὺ πεδίων κοῖλον· πλάτος μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ διακοσίων σταδίων, μῆκος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ὁμοῦ<sup>3</sup> τι διπλάσιον. διαρρεῖται δὲ ποταμοῖς ἄρδουσι χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πάμφορον, μεγίστῳ δὲ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ λίμνην, ἣ φέρει τὴν ἀρωματῆτιν σχοῖνον<sup>4</sup> καὶ κάλαμον, ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἔλη· καλεῖται δ' ἡ λίμνη Γεννησαρίτις. φέρει δὲ καὶ βάλσαμον. τῶν δὲ ποταμῶν ὁ μὲν Χρυσορρόας, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Δαμασκηνῶν πόλεως καὶ χώρας, εἰς τὰς ὀχετείας ἀναλίσκεται σχεδόν τι· πολλὴν γὰρ ἐπάρδει καὶ βαθεῖαν σφόδρα·<sup>5</sup> τὸν δὲ Λύκον καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἀναπλέουσι φορτίοις, Ἀράδιοι δὲ μάλιστα.

17. Γῶν δὲ πεδίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, Μάκρας καλεῖται καὶ Μάκρα πεδίων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ποσειδώνιος ἱστορεῖ τὸν δράκοντα πεπτωκότα ὁραθῆναι νεκρόν, μῆκος<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Συρίαν FE, Γωνίαν and Γονίαν other MSS. and in margin of F.

<sup>2</sup> Τραχώνων, Tzschucke, for Τραχανῶν.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ὁμοῦ, E reads σχεδόν.

<sup>4</sup> σχοῖνον ("rush"), Tzschucke and Corais emend to σχῖνον (the mastich-tree).

banus, which form Coelê-Syria, as it is called, and are approximately parallel to each other. They both begin slightly above the sea—Libanus above the sea near Tripolis and nearest to Theuprosopon, and Antilibanus above the sea near Sidon; and somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Arabian mountains above Damascenê and the Trachones,<sup>1</sup> as they are called, the two mountains terminate in other mountains that are hilly and fruitful. They leave a hollow plain between them, the breadth of which, near the sea, is two hundred stadia, and the length, from the sea into the interior, is about twice that number. It is intersected by rivers, the Jordan being the largest, which water a country that is fertile and all-productive. It also contains a lake, which produces the aromatic rush<sup>2</sup> and reed; and likewise marshes. The lake is called Gennesaritis. The plain also produces balsam. Among the rivers is the Chrysorrhoas, which begins at the city and country of the Damasceni and is almost wholly used up in the conduits, for it irrigates a large territory that has a very deep soil; but the Lycus and the Jordan are navigated inland with vessels of burden, mostly by the Aradians.

17. As for the plains, the first, beginning at the sea, is called Macras, or Macra-Plain. Here, as reported by Poseidonius, was seen the fallen dragon,

<sup>1</sup> "Trachones" means "Rugged, strong tracts" (see 16. 2. 20).

<sup>2</sup> See critical note.

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<sup>3</sup> Instead of σφόδρα, E reads χθόνα.

<sup>4</sup> After μῆκος D<sup>h</sup>i read μέν; so Corais.

σχεδόν τι καὶ πλεθριαῖον, πάχος δ', ὥσθ' ἰππέας ἐκατέρωθεν παραστάντας ἀλλήλους μὴ καθορᾶν, χάσμα δέ, ὥστ' ἔφιππον δέξασθαι, τῆς δὲ φολίδος λεπίδα ἐκάστην ὑπεραίρουσαν θυρεοῦ.

18. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μάκραν ἐστὶν ὁ Μασσύας, ἔχων τινὰ καὶ ὄρεινά, ἐν οἷς ἡ Χαλκίς, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μασσίου· ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτοῦ Λαοδί-  
κεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄρεινὰ ἔχουσι πάντα Ἰτουραῖοί τε καὶ Ἀραβες, κακοῦργοι πάντες, οἳ δ' ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις γεωργοί· κακούμενοι δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλης βοηθείας δέονται. ὀρμητηρίοις δ' ἐρυμνοῖς χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ τὸν Λίβανον ἔχοντες ἄνω μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιννᾶν καὶ Βόρραμα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσι τείχη, κάτω δὲ Βότρυν καὶ Γίγαρτον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης σπήλαια καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Θεοῦ προσώπῳ φρούριον ἐπιτεθέν, ἃ κατέσπασε Πομπήιος, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν τε Βύβλον κατέτρεχον<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ Βηρυτόν, αἱ μεταξὺ κεῖνται Σιδόνος καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ προσώπου. ἡ μὲν οὖν Βύβλος, τὸ τοῦ Κινύρου βασιλείον, ἱερά ἐστι τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος· ἦν τυραννουμένην ἠλευθέρωσε Πομπήιος πελεκίσας ἐκείνον· κεῖται δ' ἐφ' ὕψους τινὸς μικρὸν ἀπῶθεν τῆς θαλάττης.

19. Εἴτα μετὰ ταύτην Ἀδωνις ποταμὸς καὶ ὄρος Κλίμαξ καὶ Παλαίβυβλος· εἰθ' ὁ Λύκος  
C 756 ποταμὸς καὶ Βηρυτός· αὕτη δὲ κατεσπίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος, ἀνελήφθη δὲ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων,

<sup>1</sup> κατέτρεχον F, κατέτρεχε other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> About 100 feet.

<sup>2</sup> Now Beyrout.

the corpse of which was about a plethrum<sup>1</sup> in length, and so bulky that horsemen standing by it on either side could not see one another; and its jaws were large enough to admit a man on horseback, and each flake of its horny scales exceeded an oblong shield in length.

18. After Macras one comes to the Massyas Plain, which contains also some mountainous parts, among which is Chalcis, the acropolis, as it were, of the Massyas. The beginning of this plain is the Laodiceia near Libanus. Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers; and when the latter are harassed by the robbers at different times they require different kinds of help. These robbers use strongholds as bases of operation; those, for example, who hold Libanus possess, high up on the mountain, Sinna and Borrama and other fortresses like them, and, down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the castle that was erected on Theuprosopon. Pompey destroyed these places; and from them the robbers overran both Byblus and the city that comes next after Byblus, I mean the city Berytus,<sup>2</sup> which lie between Sidon and Theuprosopon. Now Byblus, the royal residence of Cinyras, is sacred to Adonis; but Pompey freed it from tyranny by beheading its tyrant with an axe; and it is situated on a height only a slight distance from the sea.

19. Then, after Byblus, one comes to the Adonis River and to Mt. Climax and to Palaebyblus; and then to the Lycus River and Berytus. But though Berytus was razed to the ground by Tryphon, it has now been restored by the Romans; and it

δεξαμένη δύο τάγματα, ἃ ἔδρυσεν Ἀγρίππας ἐνταῦθα, προσθεὶς καὶ τοῦ Μασσούου πολλήν μέχρι καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ὀρόντου πηγῶν, αἱ πλησίον τοῦ τε Λιβάνου καὶ τοῦ Παραδείσου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τείχους περὶ τὴν Ἀπαμέων γῆν εἰσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

20. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Μασσούου ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος Αὐλὼν βασιλικὸς καὶ ἡ Δαμασκηνὴ χώρα, διαφερόντως ἐπαινουμένη· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ Δαμασκὸς πόλις ἀξιόλογος, σχεδόν τι καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ τῶν ταύτῃ κατὰ τὰ Περσικά· ὑπέρκεινται δ' αὐτῆς δύο λεγόμενοι Τράχωνες· ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἀναμῖξ ὄρη δύσβατα, ἐν οἷς καὶ σπήλαια βαθύστομα, ὧν ἐν καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους δέξασθαι δυνάμενον ἐν καταδρομαῖς, αἱ τοῖς Δαμασκηνοῖς γίνονται πολλαχόθεν. τὸ μέντοι πλεον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ἐμποροὺς λεηλατοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι· ἤττον δὲ συμβαίνει καταλυθέντων νυνὶ τῶν περὶ Ζηνόδωρον ληστών διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐνομίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τρεφομένων.

21. Ἀπασα μὲν οὖν ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σελευκίδος ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀνίσχουσα χώρα Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καλεῖται, ἰδίως δ' ἡ τῷ Λιβάνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ ἀφωρισμένη. τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Πηλουσίου παραλία Φοινίκη καλεῖται, στενὴ τις

<sup>1</sup> See 16. 2. 16 and footnote.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the remainder of Coolê-Syria in the broad sense of the term.



received two legions, which were settled there by Agrippa, who also added to it much of the territory of Massyas, as far as the sources of the Orontes River. These sources are near Mt. Libanus and Paradeisus and the Aegyptian fortress situated in the neighbourhood of the land of the Apameians. So much, then, for the places on the sea.

20. Above Massyas lies the Royal Valley, as it is called, and also the Damascene country, which is accorded exceptional praise. The city Damascus is also a noteworthy city, having been, I might almost say, even the most famous of the cities in that part of the world in the time of the Persian empire; and above it are situated two Trachones,<sup>1</sup> as they are called. And then, towards the parts inhabited promiscuously by Arabians and Ituraeans, are mountains hard to pass, in which there are deep-mouthed caves, one of which can admit as many as four thousand people in times of incursions, such as are made against the Damasceni from many places. For the most part, indeed, the barbarians have been robbing the merchants from Arabia Felix, but this is less the case now that the band of robbers under Zenodorus has been broken up through the good government established by the Romans and through the security established by the Roman soldiers that are kept in Syria.

21. Now the whole of the country above the territory of Seleuceia, extending approximately to Aegypt and Arabia, is called Coelê-Syria; but the country marked off by the Libanus and the Antilibanus is called by that name in a special sense. Of the remainder<sup>2</sup> the seaboard from Orthosia to Pelusium is called Phoenicia, which is a narrow

καὶ ἀλιτενῆς, ἥ δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης μεσόγαια μέχρι τῶν Ἀράβων ἢ μεταξὺ Γάζης καὶ Ἀντιλιβάνου Ἰουδαία λέγεται.

22. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν ἰδίως λεγομένην Κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπεληλύθαμεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φοινίκην μέτιμεν· ταύτης δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Ὀρθωσίας μέχρι Βηρυτοῦ λόγου τετύχηκε· μετὰ δὲ Βηρυτόν ἐστι Σιδὼν ὅσον ἐν τετρακοσίοις<sup>1</sup> σταδίοις· μεταξὺ δὲ ὁ Ταμύρας ποταμὸς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἄλσος καὶ Λεόντων πόλις· μετὰ δὲ Σιδόνα μεγίστη τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη Τύρος ἐστίν, ἥ<sup>2</sup> ἐνάμιλλος αὐτῇ κατὰ τε μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ἐκ πολλῶν μύθων παραδεδομένην.<sup>3</sup> οἱ μὲν οὖν ποιηταὶ τὴν Σιδόνα τεθρυλήκασιν μᾶλλον (Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς Τύρου), αἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀποικίαι μέχρι καὶ ἔξω Στηλῶν τὴν Τύρον πλέον ἐξυμνοῦσι.<sup>4</sup> ἀμφότεραι δ' οὖν ἔνδοξοι καὶ λαμπραὶ καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν· ὁποτέραν δ' ἂν τις εἴποι μητρόπολιν Φοινίκων, ἕρις ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ἐστίν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Σιδὼν ἐπὶ εὐφυεῖ λιμένι τῆς ἡπείρου τὴν ἰδρυσιν ἔχει.

23. Τύρος δ' ἐστὶν ὅλη νῆσος σχεδόν τι συνωκισμένη παραπλησίως, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀραδος, συνῆπται  
C 757 δὲ χώματι πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον, ὃ κατεσκεύασε πολιορκῶν Ἀλέξανδρος· δύο δ' ἔχει λιμένας, τὸν

<sup>1</sup> τετρακοσίοις (ν') clearly seems to be an error for διακοσίοις (σ').

<sup>2</sup> ἡ is omitted by Corais and Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> παραδεδομένην, Corais, for παραδεδομένη; so the later editors.

<sup>4</sup> μᾶλλον, after ἐξυμνοῦσι, is omitted by Ezz, Corais, and Meineke.

country and lies flat along the sea, whereas the interior above Phoenicia, as far as the Arabians, between Gaza and Antilibanus, is called Judaea.

22. Since, then, I have traversed Coelê-Syria in the special sense of that name, I shall pass on to Phoenicia. Of this country, I have already described the parts extending from Orthosia to Berytus; and after Berytus one comes to Sidon, at a distance of about four hundred<sup>1</sup> stadia; but between the two places are the Tamyras River and the grove of Asclepius and a city of Leones.<sup>2</sup> After Sidon one comes to Tyre, the largest and oldest city of the Phoenicians, which rivals Sidon, not only in size, but also in its fame and antiquity, as handed down to us in numerous myths. Now although the poets have referred more repeatedly to Sidon than to Tyre (Homer does not even mention Tyre), yet the colonies sent into Libya and Iberia,<sup>3</sup> as far even as outside the Pillars, hymn rather the praises of Tyre. At any rate, both cities have been famous and illustrious, both in early times and at the present time; and no matter which of the two one might call the metropolis of the Phoenicians, there is a dispute in both cities. Now Sidon is situated on the mainland near a harbour that is by nature a good one.

23. But Tyre is wholly an island, being built up nearly in the same way as Aradus; and it is connected with the mainland by a mole, which was constructed by Alexander when he was besieging it; and it has two harbours, one that can be closed

<sup>1</sup> Apparently an error for "two hundred."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* of "Lions." Cf. the "Leontopolis" in Aegypt (17. 1. 19), where the inhabitants worshipped a lion (17. 1. 40).

<sup>3</sup> *e.g.* Carthage and Gadeira.

μὲν κλειστόν, τὸν δ' ἀνειμένον, ὃν Αἰγύπτιον καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα δέ φασι πολυστέγους τὰς οἰκίας ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μᾶλλον· διὸ καὶ σεισμοὺς γενομένους<sup>1</sup> ἀπολιπεῖν μικρὸν τοῦ ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι τὴν πόλιν. ἡτύχησε δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου πολιορκία ληφθεῖσα· ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν κατέστη κρείττων καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτὴν τῇ τε ναυτιλίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἀπάντων τῶν αἰὲ κρείττους εἰσὶ κοινῇ Φοίνικες, καὶ τοῖς πορφυρείοις· πολὺ γὰρ ἐξήτασται πασῶν ἢ Τύρια καλλίστη πορφύρα· καὶ ἡ θήρα πλησίον καὶ τᾶλλα εὐπόρα τὰ πρὸς βαφὴν ἐπιτήδεια· καὶ δυσδιάγωγον μὲν ποιεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡ πολυπληθία τῶν βαφείων, πλουσίαν δὲ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀνδρείαν. οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων δ' ἐκρίθησαν αὐτόνομοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μικρὰ ἀναλώσαντες, βεβαιωσάντων τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην. τιμᾶται δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν Ἡρακλῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὰς ναυστολίας<sup>2</sup> δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀποικίδων ἐστὶ πόλεων τεκμήριον· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι.

24. Σιδόνιοι δὲ πολύτεχνοί τινες παραδέδονται καὶ καλλίτεχνοι, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δηλοῖ· πρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφοι περὶ τε ἀστρονομίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς λογιστικῆς ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τῆς νυκτιπλοίας· ἐμπορικὸν γὰρ καὶ ναυκληρικὸν ἐκάτερον· καθάπερ καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων εὖρεμα

<sup>1</sup> *most read* σεισμῶν γενομένων.

<sup>2</sup> ναυστολίας, the editors, for ναυστολογίας.

<sup>1</sup> See 5. 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Phoenician Melcharth.

and the other, called "Aegyptian" harbour, open. The houses here, it is said, have many stories, even more than the houses at Rome,<sup>1</sup> and on this account, when an earthquake took place, it lacked but little of utterly wiping out the city. The city was also unfortunate when it was taken by siege by Alexander; but it overcame such misfortunes and restored itself both by means of the seamanship of its people, in which the Phoenicians in general have been superior to all peoples of all times, and by means of their dye-houses for purple; for the Tyrian purple has proved itself by far the most beautiful of all; and the shell-fish are caught near the coast; and the other things requisite for dyeing are easily got; and although the great number of dye-works makes the city unpleasant to live in, yet it makes the city rich through the superior skill of its inhabitants. The Tyrians were adjudged autonomous, not only by the kings, but also, at small expense to them, by the Romans, when the Romans confirmed the decree of the kings. Heracles<sup>2</sup> is paid extravagant honours by them. The number and the size of their colonial cities is an evidence of their power in maritime affairs. Such, then, are the Tyrians.

24. The Sidonians, according to tradition, are skilled in many beautiful arts, as the poet also points out;<sup>3</sup> and besides this they are philosophers in the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic, having begun their studies with practical calculations and with night-sailings; for each of these branches of knowledge concerns the merchant and the ship-owner; as, for example, geometry was invented, it

<sup>3</sup> "Since the Sidonians, skilled in cunning handiwork had wrought it (the silver mixing bowl) well" (*Iliad* 23. 743).

γεωμετρίαν φασὶν ἀπὸ τῆς χωρομετρίας, ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπεργάζεται, συγχέων τοὺς ὅρους κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἤκειν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας πεπιστεύκασιν, ἀστρονομίαν δὲ καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν παρὰ Φοινίκων· νυνὶ δὲ πάσης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας εὐπορίαν πολὺ πλείστην λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων τῶν πόλεων· εἰ δὲ δεῖ Ποσειδωνίῳ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα παλαιὸν ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς Σιδονίου Μώχου πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων γεγονότος. τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ ἐάσθω· καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐκ Σιδόνος μὲν ἑνδοξοὶ φιλόσοφοι γεγόνασι Βοηθός τε, ᾧ συνεφιλοσοφήσαμεν ἡμεῖς τὰ Ἀριστοτέλεια, καὶ Διόδωτος, ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐκ Τύρου δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τὸν πίνακα ἐκθεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν βιβλίων. διέχει δὲ τῆς Σιδόνος ἡ Τύρος οὐ πλείους τῶν διακοσίων στα-

C 758 δίων· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ πολίχνιον, Ὀρνίθων πόλις λεγομένη· εἴτα πρὸς Τύρῳ ποταμὸς ἐξίησι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τύρον ἡ Παλαίτυρος ἐν τριάκοντα σταδίοις.

25. Εἴθ' ἡ Πτολεμαῖς ἐστὶ μεγάλη πόλις, ἣν Ἀκην ὠνόμαζον πρότερον· ἣ ἐχρῶντο ὀρμητηρίῳ πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Πέρσαι. μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Ἀκῆς καὶ Τύρου θινώδης αἰγιαλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ φέρων τὴν ὑαλίτιν ἄμμον. ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν φασὶ μὴ χεῖσθαι, κομισθεῖσαν εἰς Σιδόνα δὲ τὴν χωνεῖαν δέχεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοῖς Σιδονίοις εἶναι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 17. 1. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Whether Strabo and Boethus studied together under

is said, from the measurement of lands which is made necessary by the Nile when it confounds the boundaries at the time of its overflows.<sup>1</sup> This science, then, is believed to have come to the Greeks from the Aegyptians; astronomy and arithmetic from the Phoenicians; and at present by far the greatest store of knowledge in every other branch of philosophy is to be had from these cities. And if one must believe Poseidonius, the ancient dogma about atoms originated with Mochus, a Sidonian, born before the Trojan times. However, let us dismiss things ancient. In my time there have been famous philosophers from Sidon; Boethus, with whom I studied the Aristotelian philosophy,<sup>2</sup> and his brother Diodotus; and from Tyre, Antipater, and, a little before my time, Apollonius, who published a tabulated account of the philosophers of the school of Zeno and of their books. Tyre is distant from Sidon not more than two hundred stadia; and between them lies a town called City of Ornithes;<sup>3</sup> and then one comes to a river which empties near Tyre, and after Tyre, to Palae-Tyre,<sup>4</sup> at a distance of thirty stadia.

25. Then one comes to Ptolemaïs, a large city, in earlier times named Acê; this city was used by the Persians as a base of operations against Aegypt. Between Acê and Tyre is a sandy beach, which produces the sand used in making glass. Now the sand, it is said, is not fused here, but is carried to Sidon and there melted and cast. Some say that the Sidonians, among others, have the glass-sand

Andronicus of Rhodes (see 14. 2. 13), or under Xenarchus of Seleuceia in Cilicia (see 14. 5. 4), or both, is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Ornithopolis, "City of Birds."

<sup>4</sup> Old Tyre.

ὑαλίτιν ψάμμον ἐπιτηδείαν εἰς χύσιν, οἱ δὲ πᾶσαν πανταχοῦ χεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> φασιν. ἤκουσα δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παρὰ τῶν ὑαλουργῶν, εἶναί τινα καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑαλίτιν γῆν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐχ οἶόν τε τὰς πολυχρούους καὶ πολυτελεῖς κατασκευὰς ἀποτελεσθῆναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοις ἄλλων μιγμάτων δεῖν· καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ πολλὰ παρευρίσκεισθαι φασι καὶ πρὸς τὰς χροᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ῥαστώνην τῆς κατασκευῆς, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν κρυσταλλοφανῶν· ὅπου γε καὶ τρυβλίον χαλκοῦ πρίασθαι καὶ ἐκπωμάτιον ἔστιν.

26. Ἰστορεῖται δὲ παράδοξον πάθος τῶν πάνυ σπανίων, κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦτον τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Τύρου καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος. καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν οἱ Πτολεμαεῖς, μάχην συνάψαντες πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐλείφθησαν<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, τροπῆς γενομένης λαμπρᾶς, ἐπέκλυσεν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους κύμα τοὺς φεύγοντας ὅμοιον πλημμυρίδι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήρπασε καὶ διέφθειρεν, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τόποις ἔμειναν νεκροί· διαδεξαμένη δὲ ἡ ἄμπωτις πάλιν ἀνεκάλυψε καὶ ἔδειξε τὰ σώματα τῶν κειμένων ἀναμῖξ ἐν νεκροῖς ἰχθύσι. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ Κάσιον συμβαίνει τὸ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, σπασμῶτιν ὀξεῖ καὶ ἀπλῶ<sup>3</sup> περιπιπτούσης τῆς γῆς καὶ εἰς ἐκάτερον μεταβαλλομένης ἅπαξ· ὥστε τὸ μὲν μετεωρισθὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἀπαγαγεῖν<sup>4</sup> τὴν θάλατ-

<sup>1</sup> χεῖσθαι F, κινεῖσθαι other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλήφθησαν F, omitted by other MSS. (cp. Athenaeus 8. 2, p. 333).

<sup>3</sup> For ἀπλῶ Corais reads παλμῶ (vibration).

<sup>4</sup> ἀπαγαγεῖν, Jones, following suggestion of Capps, for ἐπαγαγεῖν F, ἐπάγειν other MSS.



that is adapted to fusing, though others say that any sand anywhere can be fused. I heard at Alexandria from the glass-workers that there was in Aegypt a kind of vitreous earth without which many-coloured and costly designs could not be executed, just as elsewhere different countries require different mixtures; and at Rome, also, it is said that many discoveries are made both for producing the colours and for facility in manufacture, as, for example, in the case of glass-ware, where one can buy a glass beaker or drinking-cup for a copper.

26. A marvellous occurrence of a very rare kind is reported as having taken place on this shore between Tyre and Ptolemaïs: at the time when the Ptolemaeans, after joining battle with Sarpedon the general, were left in this place, after a brilliant rout had taken place, a wave from the sea, like a flood-tide, submerged the fugitives;<sup>1</sup> and some were carried off into the sea and destroyed, whereas others were left dead in the hollow places; and then, succeeding this wave, the seabed uncovered the shore again and disclosed the bodies of men lying promiscuously among dead fish. Like occurrences take place in the neighbourhood of the Mt. Casius situated near Aegypt, where the land undergoes a single quick convulsion, and makes a sudden change to a higher or lower level, the result being that, whereas the elevated part repels the sea and

<sup>1</sup> The account of Athenaeus (8. 2, p. 333), quoted from Poseidonius, is clearer: the opposing generals were Tryphon the Apameian (see 16. 2. 10) and Sarpedon the general of Demetrius; it was Tryphon who won the fight and his soldiers who were submerged.

ταν, τὸ δὲ συνιζήσαν<sup>1</sup> δέξασθαι, τραπομένης δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πάλιν ἔδραν ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν τόπον, τοτὲ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐξαλλάξεώς τινος γενομένης, τοτὲ δ' οὐ· τάχα καὶ περιόδοις τισὶν ἐνδεδεμένων τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἀδήλοις ἡμῖν, καθάπερ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναβάσεων λέγεται διαφόρων γινομένων, ἄδηλον δὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐχουσῶν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκην Στράτωνος πύργος, πρόσορμον ἔχων. μεταξὺ δὲ ὃ τε Κάρμηλος τὸ ὄρος καὶ πολιχνίων ὀνόματα, πλέον δ' οὐδέν, Συκαμίνων πόλις, Βουκόλων καὶ Κροκοδείλων πόλις καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· εἴτα δρυμὸς μέγας τις.

C 759 28. Εἴτα Ἰόπη,<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἣν ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλία σημειωδῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον κάμπτεται, πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω τεταμένη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μυθεύουσιν τινες τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἐκτεθῆναι τῷ κήτει· ἐν ὕψει γάρ ἐστιν ἱκανῶς τὸ χωρίον, ὥστ' ἀφορᾶσθαί φασιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων μητρόπολιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπινείῳ τούτῳ κέχρηται καταβάντες μέχρι θαλάττης οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· τὰ δ' ἐπινεία τῶν ληστῶν ληστήρια δηλονότι ἐστί. τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Κάρμηλος ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὁ δρυμός· καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐάνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, ὥστ' ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνείας καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν κύκλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας

<sup>1</sup> συνιζήσαν, Xylander, for συνίζησιν.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰόπη Emoz, Ἰόπη other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> For an extended discussion of this and similar problems, see l. 3-4, 10. 13.

<sup>2</sup> This place was magnificently built up by Herod and named Caesarea in honour of Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> "Mulberry City."

the sunken part receives it, yet, the land makes a reverse change and the site resumes its old position again, a complete interchange of levels sometimes having taken place and sometimes not.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps such disturbances are subject to periodic principles unknown to us, as is also said to be the case of the overflows of the Nile, which prove to be variant but follow some unknown order.

27. After Acê one comes to the Tower of Strato,<sup>2</sup> which has a landing-place for vessels. Between the two places is Mt. Carmel, as also towns of which nothing more than the names remain—I mean Sycaminopolis,<sup>3</sup> Bucolopolis,<sup>4</sup> Crocodeilopolis,<sup>5</sup> and others like them. And then one comes to a large forest.<sup>6</sup>

28. Then one comes to Iopê,<sup>7</sup> where the seaboard from Aegypt, though at first stretching towards the east, makes a significant bend towards the north. Here it was, according to certain writers of myths, that Andromeda was exposed to the sea-monster; for the place is situated at a rather high elevation—so high, it is said, that Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Judacans, is visible from it; and indeed the Judaeans have used this place as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea; but the seaports of robbers are obviously only robbers' dens.<sup>8</sup> To these people belonged, not only Carmel, but also the forest; and indeed this place was so well supplied with men that it could muster forty thousand men from the neighbouring village Iamneia and

<sup>1</sup> "Herdsman City."

<sup>5</sup> "Crocodile City."

<sup>6</sup> Josephus (14. 13. 3) speaks of a place near Mt. Carmel as Δρύμεις ("Forests").

<sup>7</sup> Now Jaffa.

<sup>8</sup> See § 37 following.

ὀπλίζεσθαι. εἰσὶ δ' ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ Κάσιον τὸ πρὸς Πηλουσίῳ μικρῷ πλείους ἢ χίλιοι στάδιοι, τριακόσιοι δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ Πηλούσιον.

29. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ ἡ Γαδαρίς ἐστίν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξειδιάσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· εἶτ' Ἀζωτὸς καὶ Ἀσκάλων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰαμνείας εἰς Ἀζωτὸν καὶ Ἀσκάλωνά εἰσιν ὅσον διακόσιοι στάδιοι. κρομμύων τ' ἀγαθός<sup>1</sup> ἐστίν ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν, πόλισμα δὲ μικρόν. ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Ἀντίοχος ὁ φιλόσοφος, μικρὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονώς. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαδύρων Φιλόδημός τε ὁ Ἐπικούρειος<sup>2</sup> καὶ Μελέαγρος καὶ Μένιππος ὁ σπουδογέλοιος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ῥήτωρ.

30. Εἰθ' ὁ τῶν Γαζαίων λιμὴν πλησίον· ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ἑπτὰ σταδίοις, ἔνδοξός ποτε γενομένη, κατεσπασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ὑπέρβασις λέγεται χιλίων διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα σταδίων εἰς Αἶλαν<sup>3</sup> πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Αραβίου κόλπου κειμένην· διττὸς δ' ἐστίν· ὁ μὲν ἔχων εἰς τὸ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ τῇ Γάζῃ μέρος, ὃν Αἰλανίτην προσαγορεύουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πόλεως, ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἡρώων πόλιν, εἰς ὃν ἐκ Πηλουσίου ἡ ὑπέρθεσις ἐπιτομωτέρα· δι' ἐρήμων δὲ καὶ ἀμμωδῶν χωρίων αἱ ὑπερβάσεις ἐπὶ καμήλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἐν αὐταῖς πλῆθος.

31. Μετὰ δὲ Γάζαν Ῥαφία, ἐν ᾗ μάχῃ συνέβη

<sup>1</sup> κρομμυνών, Meineke ; κρομμύων MSS. ; κρομμύοις τ' ἀγαθὴ μοῖα, Tzschucke and Corais.

<sup>2</sup> After Ἐπικούρειος the MSS. add γεγονώς.

<sup>3</sup> Αἶλαν, Meineke emends to Αἶλانا.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ μὲν ἔχων εἰς τό, Kramer, for ὁ μὲν εἰς ἔχων τό.

the settlements all round. Thence to Mt. Casius near Pelusium the distance is a little more than one thousand stadia; and, three hundred stadia farther, one comes to Pelusium itself.

29. But in the interval one comes to Gadaris, which the Judaeans appropriated to themselves; and then to Azotus and Ascalon. The distance from Iamneia to Azotus and Ascalon is about two hundred stadia. The country of the Ascalonitae is a good onion-market, though the town is small. Antiochus the philosopher, who was born a little before my time, was a native of this place. Philodemus, the Epicurean, and Meleager and Menippus, the satirist, and Theodorus, the rhetorician of my own time, were natives of Gadaris.

30. Then, near Ascalon, one comes to the harbour of the Gazaeans. The city of the Gazaeans is situated inland at a distance of seven stadia; it became famous at one time, but was rased to the ground by Alexander and remains uninhabited. Thence there is said to be an overland passage of one thousand two hundred and sixty stadia to Aela, a city situated near the head of the Arabian Gulf. This head consists of two recesses: one extending into the region near Arabia and Gaza, which is called Aelanites, after the city situated on it, and the other, extending to the region near Aegypt in the neighbourhood of the City of Heroes,<sup>1</sup> to which the overland passage from Pelusium is shorter; and the overland journeys are made on camels through desert and sandy places; and on these journeys there are also many reptiles to be seen.

31. After Gaza one comes to Rhaphia, where a

<sup>1</sup> Heröonpolis.

Πτολεμαίῳ τε τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Μεγάλῳ. εἶτα Ῥινοκόλoura,<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσφικισμένων ἐκεῖ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνθρώπων ἡκρωτηριασμένων<sup>2</sup> τὰς ῥίνας οὕτω καλουμένη· τῶν γὰρ Αἰθιόπων τις, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναιρεῖν<sup>3</sup> τοὺς κακούργους ἀποτέμνων τὰς ῥίνας ἐνταῦθα κατώκιζεν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τολμήσουντας κακουργεῖν διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τῆς ὄψεως.

C 760 32. Καὶ αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀπὸ Γάζης λυπρὰ πᾶσα καὶ ἀμμώδης· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τοιαύτη ἡ ἐφεξῆς ὑπερκειμένη,<sup>4</sup> ἔχουσα τὴν Σιρβωνίδα λίμνην παράλληλόν πως<sup>5</sup> τῇ θαλάττῃ μικρὰν δίοδον ἀπολείπουσαν μεταξὺ μέχρι τοῦ Ἑκρήγματος καλουμένου, μῆκος ὅσον διακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τὸ μέγιστον πεντήκοντα· τὸ δ' Ἑκρηγμα συγκέχωσται. εἶτα συνεχὴς ἄλλη τοιαύτη<sup>6</sup> ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσιον, καὶ κεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον.

33. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ Κάσιον θινώδης τις λόφος ἡκρωτηριάζων ἄνυδρος, ὅπου τὸ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου σῶμα κεῖται καὶ Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Κασίου· πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἐσφάγη ὁ Μάγνος, δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. εἶθ' ἡ ἐπὶ Πηλούσιον ὁδός, ἐν ᾗ τὰ Γέρρα καὶ ὁ Χαβρίου λεγόμενος χάραξ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πηλουσίῳ βάραθρα, ἃ ποιεῖ παρεκχεόμενος ὁ Νεῖλος, φύσει κοίλων καὶ ἐλωδῶν

<sup>1</sup> Ῥινοκόλoura the spelling of the MSS. except E, which has Ῥινοκόρουρα (cp. readings in 16. 1. 12 and 16. 4. 24).

<sup>2</sup> The words ἐκεῖ . . . ἡκρωτηριασμένων are omitted in EF.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναιρεῖν μοx, ἀνελεθεῖν Xylander, κατελεθεῖν Corais; -εῖν, with the other letters erased, other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> τοιαύτην ἡ ἐφεξῆς ὑπερκειμένη, the editors, for τοιαύτην ἐφεξῆς ὑπερκειμένην.

battle was fought between Ptolemaeus the Fourth and Antiochus the Great. Then to Rhinocolura,<sup>1</sup> so called from the people with mutilated noses that had been settled there in early times; for some Aethiopian invaded Aegypt and, instead of killing the wrongdoers, cut off their noses and settled them at that place, assuming that on account of their disgraceful faces they would no longer dare do people wrong.

32. Now the whole of this country from Gaza is barren and sandy, but still more so is the country that lies next above it, which contains Lake Sirbonis,<sup>2</sup> a lake which lies approximately parallel to the sea and, in the interval, leaves a short passage as far as the Ecregma,<sup>3</sup> as it is called; the lake is about two hundred stadia in length and its maximum breadth is about sixty stadia; but the Ecregma has become filled up with earth. Then follows another continuous tract of this kind as far as Casius; and then one comes to Pelusium.

33. Casius is a sandy hill without water and forms a promontory; the body of Pompey the Great is buried there; and on it is a temple of Zeus Casius. Near this place Pompey the Great was slain, being treacherously murdered by the Aegyptians. Then comes the road to Pelusium, on which lie Gerrha and the Palisade of Chabrias, as it is called, and the pits near Pelusium. These pits are formed by side-flows from the Nile, the region being by nature

<sup>1</sup> "Docked-nose-ville."

<sup>2</sup> See 1. 3. 4 and 17. 1. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* "Outbreak" to the sea.

<sup>6</sup> *πως*, Corais, for *πρός*.

<sup>6</sup> *τοιαύτη*, Letroune, for *τοσαύτην*.

ὄντων τῶν τόπων. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Φοινίκη. φησὶ δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐκ μὲν Ὀρθωσίας εἶναι σταδίους τρισχιλίους ἑξακοσίους πεντήκοντα κατακολπίζοντι· ἐκ δὲ Μελαινῶν ἢ Μελανιῶν τῆς Κιλικίας τῶν πρὸς Κελένδεριν ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας χιλίους καὶ ἑννακοσίους· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀρόντην πεντακοσίους εἴκοσιν· εἴτ' ἐπὶ Ὀρθωσίαν χιλίους ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα.

34. Τῆς δ' Ἰουδαίας τὰ μὲν ἐσπέρια ἄκρα τὰ πρὸς τῷ Κασίῳ κατέχουσιν Ἰδουμαῖοί τε καὶ ἡ λίμνη. Ναβαταῖοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι· κατὰ στάσιν δ' ἐκπεσόντες ἐκεῖθεν προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐκοινώνησαν· πρὸς θαλάττῃ δὲ ἡ Σιρβωνὶς τὰ πολλὰ κατέχει<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡ συνεχὴς μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς θαλάττῃ ἐστίν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἐπινείου τῆς Ἰόπης<sup>2</sup> εἴρηται ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐν ὄψει. ταῦτα μὲν προσάρκτια· τὰ πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἕκαστά εἰσιν ὑπὸ φύλων οἰκούμενα μικτῶν ἐκ τε Αἰγυπτίων ἐθνῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων καὶ Φοινίκων· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἔχοντες καὶ τὸν Ἱερικοῦντα καὶ τὴν Φιλαδελφίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν, ἣν Ἡρώδης Σεβαστὴν ἐπωνόμασεν. οὕτω δ' ὄντων μιγάδων, ἡ κρατοῦσα μάλιστα φήμη τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πιστευομένων Αἰγυπτίους ἀποφαίνει τοὺς προγόνους τῶν νῦν Ἰουδαίων λεγομένων.

<sup>1</sup> κατέχει, Casaubon, for κατεῖχε.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰόπης CF.

<sup>1</sup> See 14. 5. 3 and footnote.



hollow and marshy. Such is Phoenicia. Artemidorus says that the distance to Pelusium from Orthosia is three thousand six hundred and fifty stadia, including the sinuosities of the gulfs; and from Melaenae, or Melaniae, in Cilicia, near Celen-deris, to the common boundaries of Cilicia and Syria, one thousand nine hundred; and thence to the Orontes River, five hundred and twenty; and then to Orthosia one thousand one hundred and thirty.<sup>1</sup>

34. As for Judaea, its western extremities towards Casius are occupied by the Idumaeans and by the lake. The Idumaeans are Nabataeans,<sup>2</sup> but owing to a sedition they were banished from there,<sup>3</sup> joined the Judaeans, and shared in the same customs with them. The greater part of the region near the sea is occupied by Lake Sirbonis and by the country continuous with the lake as far as Jerusalem; for this city is also near the sea; for, as I have already said,<sup>4</sup> it is visible from the seaport of Iopê. This region lies towards the north; and it is inhabited in general, as is each place in particular, by mixed stocks of people from Aegyptian and Arabian and Phoenician tribes; for such are those who occupy Galilee and Hiericus<sup>5</sup> and Philadelphia and Samaria, which last Herod surnamed Sebastê.<sup>6</sup> But though the inhabitants are mixed up thus, the most prevalent of the accredited reports in regard to the temple at Jerusalem represents the ancestors of the present Judaeans, as they are called, as Aegyptians.

<sup>2</sup> An Arabian people (see 16. 4. 21).

<sup>3</sup> Arabia Petraea (see 16. 4. 21).

<sup>4</sup> 16. 2. 28. <sup>5</sup> Jericho.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* in Latin, "Augusta," in honour of Augustus Caesar.

35. Μωσῆς γάρ τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερέων, ἔχων τι μέρος τῆς κίτῳ<sup>1</sup> καλουμένης χώρας, ἀπῆρεν ἐκεῖσε ἐνθένδε, δυσχερούνας τὰ καθεστῶτα, καὶ συνεξήραν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον. ἔφη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονοῖεν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι θηρίοις εἰκάζοντες καὶ βοσκήμασι τὸ θεῖον, οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες· οὐκ εὖ δὲ C 761 οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀνθρωπομόρφους τυποῦντες· εἷη γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν. τούτου δὴ τίς ἂν εἰκόνα πλάττειν θαρρήσειε νοῦν ἔχων ὁμοίαν τινὶ<sup>2</sup> τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν; ἀλλ' ἔαν δεῖν<sup>3</sup> πᾶσαν ξοανοποιῶν, τέμενος δ' <sup>4</sup> ἀφορίσαντας καὶ σηκὸν ἀξιόλογον τιμᾶν ἔδους<sup>5</sup> χωρίς· ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλους τοὺς εὐνοείρους· καὶ προσδοκᾶν δεῖν ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δῶρον ἀεὶ τι καὶ σημεῖον τοὺς σωφρόνως ζῶντας καὶ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μὴ προσδοκᾶν.

36. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔπεισεν εὐγνώμονας ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τούτον, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις κτίσμα. κατέσχε δὲ ῥαδίως, οὐκ ἐπίφθονον ὃν τὸ χωρίον, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὗ ἂν τις ἐσπουδασμένως μαχέσαιοτο· ἔστι γὰρ πετρῶδες,

<sup>1</sup> κίτῳ, Corais inserts.

<sup>2</sup> τινί, Casaubon, for τινά.

<sup>3</sup> δεῖν, Corais, for δεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> δ', Corais inserts.

<sup>5</sup> ἔδους ἢ, αἰδοῦς FD, εἶδους other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo evidently has in mind, among other forms of worship, the bull-worship of the Aegyptians. The bull was

35. Moses, namely, was one of the Aegyptian priests, and held a part of Lower Aegypt, as it is called, but he went away from there to Judaea, since he was displeased with the state of affairs there, and was accompanied by many people who worshipped the Divine Being. For he said, and taught, that the Aegyptians were mistaken in representing the Divine Being by the images of beasts and cattle,<sup>1</sup> as were also the Libyans; and that the Greeks were also wrong in modelling gods in human form; for, according to him, God is this one thing alone that encompasses us all and encompasses land and sea—the thing which we call heaven, or universe, or the nature of all that exists. What man, then, if he has sense, could be bold enough to fabricate an image of God resembling any creature amongst us? Nay, people should leave off all image-carving, and, setting apart a sacred precinct and a worthy sanctuary, should worship God without an image; and people who have good dreams should sleep in the sanctuary, not only themselves on their own behalf, but also others for the rest of the people; and those who live self-restrained and righteous lives should always expect some blessing or gift or sign from God, but no other should expect them.

36. Now Moses, saying things of this kind, persuaded not a few thoughtful men and led them away to this place where the settlement of Jerusalem now is; and he easily took possession of the place, since it was not a place that would be looked on with envy, nor yet one for which anyone would make a serious fight; for it is rocky, and, although it itself worshipped by them as a symbol of the might and fatherhood of God.

αὐτὸ μὲν εὐνδρον, τὴν δὲ κύκλῳ χώραν ἔχον  
 λυπρὰν καὶ ἄνυδρον, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα  
 σταδίων καὶ ὑπόπετρον. ἅμα δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄπλων  
 τὰ ἱερὰ προὔβάλλετο καὶ τὸ θεῖον, ἴδρυσιν τούτου  
 ζητεῖν ἀξιῶν, καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος  
 τοιοῦτον σεβασμὸν καὶ τοιαύτην ἱεροποιάν, ἣτις  
 οὔτε δαπάναις ὀχλήσει τοὺς χρωμένους οὔτε  
 θεοφορίαις οὔτε ἄλλαις πραγματείαις ἀτόποις.  
 οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὐδοκιμήσας τούτοις συνεστήσατο  
 ἀρχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, ἀπάντων προσχωρησάν-  
 των ῥαδίως τῶν κύκλῳ διὰ τὴν ὁμίλιαν καὶ τὰ  
 προτεινόμενα.

37. Οἱ δὲ διαδεξάμενοι χρόνους μὲν τινες ἐν  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς διέμενον δικαιοπραγοῦντες καὶ θεο-  
 σεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες· ἔπειτ' ἐφισταμένων ἐπὶ  
 τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεισιδαιμόιων,  
 ἔπειτα τυραννικῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ μὲν τῆς δεσι-  
 δαιμονίας αἱ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποσχέσεις, ὧν περ  
 καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ αἱ  
 περιτομαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐκτομαὶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἴ τινα τοιαῦτα  
 ἐνομίσθη, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τυραννίδων τὰ ληστήρια.  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφιστάμενοι τὴν χώραν ἐκάκουν καὶ  
 αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν γειννῶσαν, οἱ δὲ συμπράττοντες  
 τοῖς ἄρχουσι καθήρπαζον τὰ ἀλλότρια καὶ τῆς  
 Συρίας κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης πολλήν.  
 ἦν δ' ὅμως εὐπρέπεια τις περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
 αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὡς τυραννεῖον<sup>2</sup> βδελυττομένων, ἀλλ'  
 ὡς ἱερὸν σεμνυνόντων καὶ σεβομένων.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκτομαὶ FH.

<sup>2</sup> τύραννον CDFhi; corrected in margin of DF.

<sup>1</sup> So Tozer interprets. The Greek *could* mean that "the territory inside" the city, "sixty stadia" (in circumference) "is also rocky beneath the surface."

is well supplied with water, its surrounding territory is barren and waterless, and the part of the territory within a radius of sixty stadia is also rocky beneath the surface.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Moses, instead of using arms, put forward as defence his sacrifices and his Divine Being, being resolved to seek a seat of worship for Him<sup>2</sup> and promising to deliver to the people a kind of worship and a kind of ritual which would not oppress those who adopted them either with expenses or with divine obsessions or with other absurd troubles. Now Moses enjoyed fair repute with these people, and organised no ordinary kind of government, since the peoples all round, one and all, came over to him, because of his dealings with them and of the prospects he held out to them.

37. His successors for some time abided by the same course, acting righteously and being truly pious toward God; but afterwards, in the first place, superstitious men were appointed to the priesthood, and then tyrannical people; and from superstition arose abstinence from flesh, from which it is their custom to abstain even to-day, and circumcisions and excisions<sup>3</sup> and other observances of the kind. And from the tyrannies arose the bands of robbers;<sup>4</sup> for some revolted and harassed the country, both their own country and that of their neighbours, whereas others, co-operating with the rulers, seized the property of others and subdued much of Syria and Phoenicia. But still they had respect for their acropolis, since they did not loathe it as the seat of tyranny, but honoured and revered it as a holy place.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* a city and temple dedicated to His worship.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of females (see 16. 4. 9).

<sup>4</sup> See 16. 2. 28.

38. Πέφυκε γὰρ οὕτω, καὶ κοινόν ἐστι τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις. πολιτικοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἀπὸ προσταγμάτων κοινῶν ζῶσιν· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τι καὶ ταῦτό<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα διττόν· ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν ἢ C 762 παρὰ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολὺς καὶ τρέχων εἰς μὲν Δωδώνην, ὅπως

ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσῃ,<sup>2</sup>  
συμβούλῳ τῷ Διὶ χρώμενος, εἰς δὲ Δελφούς,  
τὸν ἐκτεθέντα παῖδα μαστεύων μαθεῖν,  
εἰ μηκέτ' εἴῃ·

αὐτὸς δ' ὁ παῖς

ἔστειχε τοὺς τεκόντας ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων  
πρὸς δῶμα Φοῖβου.

καὶ ὁ Μίνως παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν

ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστῆς·  
δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν, ὥς φησι Πλάτων, ἀναβαίνων ἐπὶ  
τὸ ἄντρον τοῦ Διὸς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τὰ προσ-  
τάγματα λαμβάνων καὶ παρακομίζων εἰς τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους. τὰ δ' ὅμοια ἐποίει καὶ Λυκούργος  
ὁ ξηλωτῆς αὐτοῦ· πυκνὰ γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀπο-  
δημῶν ἐπυριθάνετο παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας, ἃ προσῆκεν  
παραγγέλλειν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

<sup>1</sup> κατ' αὐτό, CDFhir, κατὰ ταὐτό μοx; emended by Corais.  
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38. For this is natural; and it is common to the Greeks and the barbarians; for, being members of states, they live under common mandates; for otherwise it would be impossible for the mass of people in any country to do one and the same thing in harmony with one another, which is precisely what life in a free state means, or in any other way to live a common life. And the mandates are twofold; for they come either from gods or from men; and the ancients, at least, held those from the gods in greater honour and veneration; and on this account men who consulted oracles were much in evidence at that time—men who ran to Dodona “to hear the will of Zeus from the high-tressed oak,”<sup>1</sup> thus using Zeus as their counsellor, and also to Delphi, “seeking to learn whether the child which had been exposed to die was no longer alive;”<sup>2</sup> but the child himself “was on his way to the home of Phoebus, wishing to discover his parents.”<sup>3</sup> And among the Cretans Minos “reigned as king, who held converse with great Zeus every ninth year,”<sup>4</sup> every nine years, as Plato says, when he would go up to the cave of Zeus and receive decrees from him and carry them to the people. And Lycurgus,<sup>5</sup> his emulator, did likewise; for oftentimes, as it appears, he would go abroad to inquire of the Pythian priestess what ordinances it was proper for him to report to the Lacedaemonians.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 14. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, *Phoen.* 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 34.

<sup>4</sup> See 10. 4. 8 and footnote.

<sup>5</sup> See 10. 4. 18.

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<sup>2</sup> ἐπακούσῃ, Corais, for ὑποκούσῃ.

39. Ταῦτα γὰρ ὅπως ποτὲ ἀληθείας ἔχει, παρά γε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεπίστευτο καὶ ἐνενόμιστο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο, ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιούσθαι, ὡς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ἐκφέρουντες παραγγέλματα καὶ ἐπανορθώματα καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Τειρεσίας,

τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια  
οἷῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι.<sup>1</sup>

τοιούτος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως καὶ ὁ Τροφώνιος καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ὁ Μουσαῖος καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Ζάμολξις, Πυθαγόρειός τις, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ ὁ τῷ Βυρεβίστᾳ<sup>2</sup> θεσπίζων, Δεκαίνεος· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βοσπορηνοῖς Ἀχαῖκαρος, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς οἱ γυμνοσοφισταί, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις οἱ Μάγοι καὶ νεκρομάντεις καὶ ἔτι οἱ λεγόμενοι λεκανομάντεις καὶ ὑδρομάντεις, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ Τυρρηνικοὶ ὠροσκόποι.<sup>3</sup> τοιούτος δέ τις ἦν καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς καὶ οἱ διαδεξάμενοι ἐκείνου, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς λαβόντες οὐ φαύλας, ἐκτραπόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον.

40. Ἦδη δ' οὖν φανερώς τυραννουμένης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πρῶτος ἀνθ' ἱερέως ἀνέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρος· τούτου δ' ἦσαν υἱοὶ Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος· διαφορομένων δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπῆλθε Πομπήιος καὶ κατέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα αὐτῶν κατέσπασε καὶ αὐτὰ

<sup>1</sup> Meineke ejects the words καθάπερ . . . αἴσσουσι.

<sup>2</sup> Βυρεβίσθα UDFh, Βυρεβίθα i (see critical note, 7. 3. 5).



39. For these things, whatever truth there may be in them, have at least been believed and sanctioned among men; and for this reason the prophets too were held in so much honour that they were deemed worthy to be kings, on the ground that they promulgated to us ordinances and amendments from the gods, not only when they were alive, but also when they were dead, as, for example, Teiresias, "to whom even in death Persephone granted reason, that he alone should have understanding, whereas the others flit about as shadows."<sup>1</sup> Such, also, were Amphiaraus, Trophonius, Orpheus, Musaeus, and the god among the Getae, who in ancient times was Zamolxis,<sup>2</sup> a Pythagorean, and in my time was Decaeneus,<sup>3</sup> the diviner of Byrebistas; and, among the Bosporeni, Achaecarus; and, among the Indians, the Gymnosophists; and, among the Persians, the Magi and the necromancers, as also the dish-diviners and water-diviners, as they are called; and, among the Assyrians, the Chaldaeans; and, among the Romans, the Tyrrhenian nativity-casters.<sup>4</sup> Moses was such a person as these, as also his successors, who, with no bad beginning, turned out for the worse.

40. At any rate, when now Judaea was under the rule of tyrants, Alexander was first to declare himself king instead of priest; and both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were sons of his; and when they were at variance about the empire, Pompey went over and overthrew them and rased their fortifica-

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 10. 494.

<sup>2</sup> See 7. 3. 5.

<sup>3</sup> 7. 3. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 17. 1. 43.

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<sup>5</sup> ἄροσκόποι, Corais emends to οἰωνοσκόποι; Letronne conj. ἱεροσκόποι.

C 763 ἐν πρώτοις τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα βία καταλαβών.<sup>1</sup> ἦν γὰρ πετρῶδες καὶ εὐερκὲς ἔρυμα, ἐντὸς μὲν εὐνδρον, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρόν, τάφρον λατομητὴν ἔχον βάθος μὲν ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν, πλάτος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ λατομηθέντος ἐπεπύργωτο τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. κατελάβετο δ', ὥς φασι, τηρήσας τὴν τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν, ἡνίκα ἀπείχοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι παντὸς ἔργου, πληρώσας τὴν τάφρον καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν τὰς διαβάθρας· κατασπάσαι δ' οἷν ἐκέλευσε τὰ τεῖχη πάντα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν εἰς δύναμιν τὰ ληστήρια καὶ τὰ γαζοφυλάκια τῶν τυράννων. ἦν δὲ δύο μὲν τὰ ταῖς εἰσβολαῖς ἐπικείμενα τοῦ Ἱερικοῦντος Θρήξ τε καὶ Γαῦρος, ἄλλα δὲ Ἀλεξάνδριόν τε καὶ Ἑρκάνιον καὶ Μαχαιροῦς<sup>2</sup> καὶ Λυσίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Φιλαδελφίαν καὶ ἡ περὶ Γαλιλαίαν Σκυθόπολις.

41. Ἱερικοῦς δ' ἐστὶ πεδίον κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον ὄρενῇ τινι καὶ πον καὶ θεατροειδῶς πρὸς αὐτὸ κεκλιμένη· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ φοινικῶν, μεμιγμένην ἔχων καὶ ἄλλην ὕλην ἡμερον καὶ εὐκαρπον, πλεονάζων δὲ τῷ φοίνικι, ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων ἑκατόν, διάρρυτος ἅπας καὶ μεστὸς κατοικιῶν· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασίλειον καὶ ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος· ἔστι δὲ τὸ φυτὸν θαμνῶδες, κυτίσῳ ὅμοιον καὶ τερμίνθῳ, ἀρωματίζον· οὗ τὸν φλοιὸν ἐπισχίσαντες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀγγείοις τὸν ὀπὸν,

<sup>1</sup> καταλαβών, Casaubon, for καταβαλόν.

<sup>2</sup> After Μαχαιροῦς *w* adds Λύδας.

<sup>3</sup> After Λυσίας *F* adds καὶ Λύδας.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Palm-grove.

<sup>2</sup> Built by Herod the Great.

tions, and in particular took Jerusalem itself by force; for it was a rocky and well-walled fortress; and though well supplied with water inside, its outside territory was wholly without water; and it had a trench cut in rock, sixty feet in depth and two hundred and sixty feet in breadth; and, from the stone that had been hewn out, the wall of the temple was fenced with towers. Pompey seized the city, it is said, after watching for the day of fasting, when the Judaeans were abstaining from all work; he filled up the trench and threw ladders across it; moreover, he gave orders to rase all the walls and, so far as he could, destroyed the haunts of robbers and the treasure-holds of the tyrants. Two of these were situated on the passes leading to Hiericus, I mean Threx and Taurus, and others were Alexandrium and Hyrcanium and Machaerus and Lysias and those in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia and Scythopolis in the neighbourhood of Galilaea.

41. Hiericus is a plain surrounded by a kind of mountainous country, which, in a way, slopes towards it like a theatre. Here is the Phoenicon,<sup>1</sup> which is mixed also with other kinds of cultivated and fruitful trees, though it consists mostly of palm trees; it is one hundred stadia in length, and is everywhere watered with streams and full of dwellings. Here are also the palace<sup>2</sup> and the balsam park. The balsam is of the shrub kind, resembling cytiscus<sup>3</sup> and terminthus,<sup>4</sup> and has a spicy flavour. The people make incisions in the bark and catch the juice in vessels. This juice is a glutinous, milk-

<sup>3</sup> *Medicago Arborea*.

<sup>4</sup> The terebinth tree, *Pistacia terebinthus* (cf. 15. 2. 10).

γλίσχρῳ γάλακτι παραπλήσιον· ἀναληφθεὶς δ' εἰς κογχάρια λαμβάνει πῆξιν· λύει δὲ κεφαλalgίας θαυμαστῶς καὶ ὑποχύσεις ἀρχομένας καὶ ἀμβλυωπίας· τίμιος οὖν ἐστὶ, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα μόνον γεννᾶται· καὶ ὁ φοινικῶν δὲ τοιοῦτος, ἔχων τὸν καρυτὸν φοίνικα ἐνταῦθα μόνον, πλὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα πρὸς τὴν ἑω· μεγάλη οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ πρόσδοδος, καὶ τῷ ξυλοβαλάμῳ δὲ ὡς ἀρώματι χρῶνται.

42. Ἡ δὲ Σιρβωνὶς λίμνη πολλὴ μὲν ἐστὶ· καὶ γὰρ χιλίων σταδίων εἰρήκασί τινες τὸν κύκλον· τῇ μέντοι παραλίᾳ παρεκτέταται μικρῷ τι πλεοντῶν διακοσίων σταδίων μῆκος ἐπιλαμβάνουσα, ἀγχιβαθὴς, βαρύτατον ἔχουσα ὕδωρ, ὥστε μὴ δεῖν κολύμβου, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμβάντα καὶ μέχρι ὀμφαλοῦ προβάντα<sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς ἐξαίρεσθαι· μεστή δ' ἐστὶν ἀσφάλτου· αὕτη<sup>2</sup> δὲ ἀναφυσᾶται κατὰ καιροὺς ἀτάκτους ἐκ μέσου τοῦ βάθους μετὰ πομφολύγων, ὡς ἂν ζέοντος ὕδατος· κυρτουμένη δ' ἡ ἐπιφάνεια λόφου φαντασίαν παρέχει· συναναφέρεται δὲ καὶ ἄσβολος<sup>3</sup> πολλή, καπνώδης μὲν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἄδηλος, ὑφ' ἧς κατιοῦται καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ πᾶν τὸ στιλπνὸν μέχρι καὶ χρυσοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κατιοῦσθαι τὰ σκεύη γνωρίζουσιν οἱ περιοικούντες ἀρχομένην τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ ἀσφάλτου, καὶ παρασκευάζονται πρὸς τὴν μεταλλείαν αὐτοῦ, ποιησάμενοι σχεδίας

<sup>1</sup> προεμβάντα CDFhi, προελθόντα x. προβάντα is omitted by the Epit. and Meineke.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο, after αὕτη, is ejected by Groskurd and Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ἄσβολος, E reads ἄσβαλος, F ἄσβῶλος, and the Epit. βῶλος.

white substance; and when it is put up in small quantities it solidifies; and it is remarkable for its cure of headache and of incipient cataracts and of dimness of sight. Accordingly, it is costly; and also for the reason that it is produced nowhere else. Such is also the case with the Phoenicon, which alone has the caryotic palm,<sup>1</sup> excepting the Babylonian and that beyond Babylonia towards the east. Accordingly, the revenue derived from it is great. And they use the xylo-balsam<sup>2</sup> as spice.

42. Lake Sirbonis<sup>3</sup> is large; in fact some state that it is one thousand stadia in circuit; however, it extends parallel to the coast to a length of slightly more than two hundred stadia, is deep to the very shore, and has water so very heavy that there is no use for divers, and any person who walks into it and proceeds no farther than up to his navel is immediately raised afloat. It is full of asphalt. The asphalt is blown to the surface at irregular intervals from the midst of the deep, and with it rise bubbles, as though the water were boiling; and the surface of the lake, being convex, presents the appearance of a hill. With the asphalt there arises also much soot, which, though smoky, is imperceptible to the eye; and it tarnishes copper and silver and anything that glistens, even gold; and when their vessels are becoming tarnished the people who live round the lake know that the asphalt is beginning to rise; and they prepare to collect

<sup>1</sup> Palma caryota, with walnut-like fruit.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the liquid obtained from the branches when cut off.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo seems obviously to be confusing the Asphaltites Lacus (the Dead Sea) with Lake Sirbonis, which latter "broke through to the Mediterranean Sea" (see 1. 3. 4 and 1. 4. 7).

C 764 καλαμίνας. ἔστι δ' ἡ ἄσφαλτος γῆς βῶλος, ὑγραιομένη μὲν ὑπὸ θερμοῦ καὶ ἀναφυσωμένη καὶ διαχεομένη, πάλιν δὲ μεταβάλλουσα εἰς πάγον ἰσχυρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, οἷον ἔστι τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ, ὥστε τομῆς καὶ κοπῆς δεῖσθαι· εἴτ' ἐπιπολάζουσα διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ὕδατος, καθ' ἣν ἔφαμεν μηδὲ κολύμβου δεῖσθαι, μηδὲ βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἐμβάντα, ἀλλ' ἐξαίρεσθαι προσπλεύσαντες δὲ ταῖς σχεδίαις κόπτουσι καὶ φέρονται τῆς ἀσφάλτου ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται.

43. Τὸ μὲν οὖν συμβαῖνον τοιοῦτον· γόητας δὲ ὄντας σκίπτεσθαι φησιν ἐπ' ὧδ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ οὐρα καὶ ἄλλα δυσώδη ὑγρά, ἃ<sup>1</sup> περικαταχέαντας καὶ ἐκπιάσαντας πῆττει τὴν ἄσφαλτον, εἴτα τέμνειν· εἰ μὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἐπιτηδειότης τῶν οὕρων τοιαύτη, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κύστεσι τῶν λιθιώντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παιδικῶν οὕρων ἡ χρυσόκολλα συνίσταται· ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τὸ πάθος συμβαίνειν εὐλογον, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς ἀσφάλτου κατὰ μέσον ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος· ἄτακτος δὲ ἡ ἀναφύσεις, ὅτι καὶ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς κίνησις οὐκ ἔχει τάξιν ἡμῖν φανεράν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλων πνευμάτων πολλῶν. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ Ἡπειρώτιδι.

<sup>1</sup> ᾧ, Corais brackets.

<sup>1</sup> On a recent visit to the Dead Sea (December, 1929), the translator found that Strabo's whole account is substantially correct. As for floating, a very corpulent person could walk out only up to the navel before floating, but a very lean person up to the shoulders.

it by means of rafts made of reed. The asphalt is a clod of earth, which at first is liquefied by heat, and is blown up to the surface and spreads out; and then again, by reason of the cold water, the kind of water the lake in question has, it changes to a firm, solidified substance, and therefore requires cutting and chopping; and then it floats, because of the nature of the water, owing to which, as I was saying, there is no use for divers; and no person who walks into it can immerse himself either, but is raised afloat.<sup>1</sup> They reach the asphalt on rafts and chop it and carry off as much as they each can.

43. Such, then, is the fact in the case; but according to Poseidonius the people are sorcerers and pretend to use incantations, as also urine and other malodorous liquids, which they first pour all over the solidified substance, and squeeze out the asphalt and harden it, and then cut it into pieces; unless there is some suitable element of this kind in urine, such, for example, as chrysocola,<sup>2</sup> which forms in the bladder of people who have bladder-stones and is derived from the urine of children. It is reasonable that this behaviour should occur in the middle of the lake, because the source of the fire and also the greater part of the asphalt is at the middle of it; but the bubbling up is irregular, because the movement of the fire, like that of many other subterranean blasts, follows no order known to us. Such, also, are the phenomena at Apollonia in Epirus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "gold-solder." The translator does not know what the word means in the above passage, whether malachite (carbonate of copper), or borate of soda, or what.

<sup>3</sup> See 7. 5. 8.

44. Τοῦ δ' ἔμπυρον τὴν χώραν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια φέρουσι πολλά· καὶ γὰρ πέτρας τινὰς ἐπικεκαυμένας δεικνύουσι τραχείας περὶ Μοασάδα καὶ σήραγγας πολλαχοῦ καὶ γῆν τεφρώδη, σταγόνας τε πίσεως ἐκ λισσάδων λειβομένας καὶ δυσώδεις πόρρωθεν ποταμοὺς ζέοντας, κατοικίας τε ἀνατετραμμένας σποράδην· ὥστε πιστεύειν τοῖς θρυλουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς ἄρα ᾧκοῦντό ποτε τρισκαίδεκα πόλεις ἐνταῦθα, ὧν τῆς μητροπόλεως Σοδόμων σῶζοιτο κύκλος ἐξήκοντά που σταδίων· ὑπὸ δὲ σεισμῶν καὶ ἀναφυσημάτων πυρὸς καὶ θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀσφαλτωδῶν τε καὶ θειωδῶν ἢ λίμνη προπέσοι καὶ πέτραι πυρίληπτοι γένοιντο, αἵ τε πόλεις αἱ μὲν καταποθεῖν, ἃς δ' ἐκλίποιν οἱ δυνάμενοι φυγεῖν. Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι τὰναντία, λιμναζούσης τῆς χώρας, ἐκρήγμασιν ἀνακαλυφθῆναι τὴν πλείστην, καθάπερ τὴν θάλατταν.<sup>1</sup>

45. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαδαρίδι ὕδωρ μοχθηρὸν λιμναῖον, οὗ τὰ γευσάμενα κτήνη τρίχας καὶ ὅπλας καὶ κέρατα ἀποβάλλει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις Ταριχείαις<sup>2</sup> ἡ λίμνη μὲν ταριχείας ἰχθύων ἀστείας παρέχει, φύει δὲ δένδρα καρποφόρα, μηλέαις ἐμφερῇ· χρῶνται δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν.

46. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν περικόψας τινὰ τῶν  
C 765 ἐξιδιασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ βίαν

<sup>1</sup> θάλατταν, Corais emends to Θετταλίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Ταριχίαις F, Ταριχείας; emended by Tzschucke.



44. Many other evidences are produced to show that the country is fiery; for near Moasada are to be seen rugged rocks that have been scorched, as also, in many places, fissures and ashy soil, and drops of pitch dripping from smooth cliffs, and boiling rivers that emit foul odours to a great distance, and ruined settlements here and there; and therefore people believe the oft-repeated assertions of the local inhabitants, that there were once thirteen inhabited cities in that region of which Sodom was the metropolis, but that a circuit of about sixty stadia of that city escaped unharmed; and that by reason of earthquakes and of eruptions of fire and of hot waters containing asphalt and sulphur, the lake burst its bounds, and rocks were enveloped with fire; and, as for the cities, some were swallowed up and others were abandoned by such as were able to escape. But Eratosthenes says, on the contrary, that the country was a lake, and that most of it was uncovered by outbreaks, as was the case with the sea.<sup>1</sup>

45. In Gadaris, also, there is noxious lake water; and when animals taste it they lose hair and hoofs and horns. At the place called Taricheae the lake supplies excellent fish for pickling; and on its banks grow fruit-bearing trees resembling apple trees. The Aegyptians use the asphalt for embalming the bodies of the dead.

46. Now Pompey clipped off some of the territory that had been forcibly appropriated by the Judaeans,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the lake burst its bounds in a number of places, as did the Mediterranean at the Pillars (see 1. 2. 31), if the text is correct. But it is most probable that Strabo wrote "as was the case with *Thessaly*" (see 9. 5. 2, and Herodotus 7. 129), as suggested by Corais and Kramer (see critical note).

ἀπέδειξεν Ἡρώδῃ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἱερωσύνην· τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους τις<sup>2</sup> ὕστερον Ἡρώδης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος, παραδὺς εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ πολιτείᾳ, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτισε, δόντος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· τῶν δ' υἱῶν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνεῖλεν, ὡς ἐπιβουλευσάντας αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ τελευτῶν διαδόχους ἀπέλιπε, μερίδας αὐτοῖς ἀποδούς. Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐτίμησε τοῦ Ἡρώδου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν ταύτης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην· οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξι Γαλάταις λαβὼν οἴκησιν, οἱ δὲ θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ μόλις εὗροντο κάθοδον, τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἐκατέρῳ.

### III

1. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας μέχρι Βαβυλωνίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμίας πρὸς νότον Ἀραβία πᾶσα χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ Σκηνιτῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ τῶν νεμομένων αὐτὴν ἐθνῶν εἴρηται· τὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὰ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς αὐτοῦ νέμονται Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ τὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Ἡρώδῃ, Corais emends to Ὑρκανῷ.

<sup>2</sup> τις hz, τισίν, other MSS.

and appointed Herod<sup>1</sup> to the priesthood; but later a certain Herod, a descendant of his and a native of the country, who slinked into the priesthood, was so superior to his predecessors, particularly in his intercourse with the Romans and in his administration of affairs of state, that he received the title of king, being given that authority first by Antony and later by Augustus Caesar. As for his sons, he himself put some of them to death, on the ground that they had plotted against him; and at his death left others as his successors, having assigned to them portions of his kingdom. Caesar also honoured the sons of Herod and his sister Salomê and her daughter Berenicê. However, his sons were not successful, but became involved in accusations; and one of them<sup>2</sup> spent the rest of his life in exile, having taken up his abode among the Allobrogian Gauls, whereas the others,<sup>3</sup> by much obsequiousness, but with difficulty, found leave to return home, with a tetrarchy assigned to each.

### III

1. Above Judaea and Coelê-Syria, as far as Babylonia and the river-country of the Euphrates towards the south, lies the whole of Arabia, with the exception of the Scenitae in Mesopotamia. Now I have already spoken of Mesopotamia and the tribes that occupy it;<sup>4</sup> but as for the parts on the far side of the Euphrates, those near its outlets are occupied by Babylonians and the tribe of the

<sup>1</sup> Hyrcanus, apparently.

<sup>2</sup> Antipas and Philip.

<sup>3</sup> Archeläus.

<sup>4</sup> 16. 1. 26 ff.

Χαλδαίων ἔθνος (εἴρηται δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> περὶ τούτων), τὰ δ' ἐξῆς τῆς Μεσοποταμίας μέχρι Κοίλης Συρίας, τὸ μὲν πλησιάζον τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν Σκηνῖται κατέχουσιν Ἀραβες, δυναστείας ἀποτετμημένοι μικρὰς ἐν λυπροῖς χωρίοις διὰ τὰς ἀνυδρίας, γεωργοῦντες μὲν ἢ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρά, νομὰς δὲ ἔχοντες παντοδαπῶν θρεμμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα καμήλων· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἔρημός ἐστι πολλή· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἔτι νοτιώτερα ἔχουσιν οἱ τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην Ἀραβίαν οἰκοῦντες. ταύτης δὲ τὸ μὲν προσάρκτιον πλευρὸν ἢ λεχθεῖσά ἐστιν ἔρημος, τὸ δ' ἑῶν ὁ Περσικὸς κόλπος, τὸ δὲ ἐσπέριον ὁ Ἀράβιος, τὸ δὲ νότιον ἢ μεγάλη θάλαττα ἢ ἔξω τῶν κόλπων ἀμφοῖν, ἣν ἅπασαν Ἐρυθρὰν καλοῦσιν.

2. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσικὸς κόλπος λέγεται καὶ ἡ κατὰ Πέρσας θάλαττα· φησὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς Ἐρατοσθένης οὕτως, ὅτι τὸ μὲν στόμα φησὶν εἶναι στενὸν οὕτως, ὥστ' ἐξ Ἀρμόζων, τοῦ τῆς Καρμανίας ἀκρωτηρίου, τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀφορᾶται τὸ ἐν Μάκαις· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἢ ἐν δεξιᾷ παραλία περιφερὴς οὔσα κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Καρμανίας πρὸς ἑὼ μικρόν, εἴτα πρὸς ἄρκτον νεύει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν μέχρι Τερηδόνος καὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Εὐφράτου· περιέχει δὲ τὴν τε Καρμανίων παραλίαν καὶ τὴν  
C 766 Περσῶν καὶ Σουσίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων ἀπὸ μέρους, ὅσον μυρίων οὔσα<sup>2</sup> σταδίων· περὶ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰρήκαμεν· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα πάλιν ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀνδροσθένη

<sup>1</sup> καὶ is omitted by all MSS. except x.

Chaldaeans, of whom I have already spoken;<sup>1</sup> and of those parts that follow after Mesopotamia as far as Coelê-Syria, the part that lies near the river, as well as Mesopotamia, is occupied by Arabian Scenitae, who are divided off into small sovereignties and live in tracts that are barren for want of water. These people till the land either little or none, but they keep herds of all kinds, particularly of camels. Above these people lies an extensive desert; but the parts lying still farther south than their country are held by the people who inhabit Arabia Felix, as it is called. The northern side of Arabia Felix is formed by the above-mentioned desert, the eastern by the Persian Gulf, the western by the Arabian Gulf, and the southern by the great sea that lies outside both gulfs, which as a whole is called Erythra.<sup>2</sup>

2. Now the Persian Gulf is also called the Persian Sea; and Eratosthenes describes it as follows: its mouth, he says, is so narrow that from Harmoni, the promontory of Carmania, one can see the promontory at Macae in Arabia; and from its mouth the coast on the right, being circular, inclines at first, from Carmania, slightly towards the east, and then towards the north, and, after this, towards the west as far as Teredon and the outlet of the Euphrates; and it comprises the coast of the Carmanians and in part that of the Persians and Susians and Babylonians, a distance of about ten thousand stadia. I have already spoken of these peoples.<sup>3</sup> And thence next to its mouth it extends another ten thousand stadia, as stated, Eratosthenes says, by

<sup>1</sup> 16. 1. 6.<sup>2</sup> i.e. "Red" Sea.<sup>3</sup> 15. 2. 14 ff.<sup>2</sup> οὐσα D, οὐσαν other MSS.

λέγειν φησὶ τὸν Θάσιον, τὸν καὶ Νεάρχῳ συμ-  
πλεύσαντα καὶ<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτόν· ὥστε δῆλον ἐκ  
τούτων εἶναι, διότι μικρὸν ἀπολείπεται τῷ μεγέθει  
τῆς κατὰ τὸν Εὐξείνου θαλάττης αὕτη ἢ θάλαττα·  
λέγειν δέ φησιν ἐκείνον περιπεπλευκότα στόλῳ  
τὸν κόλπον, ὅτι ἀπὸ Τερηδόνος ἐξῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ  
ἔχοντι τὴν ἡπειρον ὁ παράπλους ἔχει προκειμένην  
νῆσον Ἰκαρον,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἅγιον ἐν  
αὐτῇ καὶ μαντεῖον Ταυροπόλου.

3. Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς δισχιλί-  
ους καὶ τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἐν βαθεῖ κόλπῳ κεῖ-  
ται πόλις Γέρρα, Χαλδαίων φυγάδων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος  
οἰκούντων γῆν<sup>3</sup> ἀλμυρίδα καὶ ἐχόντων ἀλίνας τὰς  
οἰκίας, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ λεπίδες τῶν ἀλῶν ἀφιστάμεναι  
κατὰ τὴν ἐπίκαυσιν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων συνεχεῖς  
ἀποπίπτουσι, καταρραίνοντες ὕδασι πυκνὰ τοὺς  
τοίχους συνέχουσι· διέχει δὲ τῆς θαλάττης  
διακοσίους σταδίους ἢ πόλιν· πεζέμποροι δ' εἰσὶν  
οἱ Γερραῖοι τὸ πλεόν τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων καὶ  
ἀρωμάτων.<sup>4</sup> Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τούναντίον φησὶ  
τοὺς Γερραίους τὰ πολλὰ σχεδίαις εἰς τὴν Βαβυ-  
λωνίαν ἐμπορεύεσθαι, ἐκείθεν δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τὰ  
φορτία ἀναπλεῖν εἰς Θάψακον, εἴτα πεζῇ κομί-  
ζεσθαι πάντη.

4. Πλεύσαντι δ' ἐπὶ πλεόν ἄλλαι νῆσοι, Τύρος  
καὶ Ἀραδος, εἰσὶν, ἱερὰ ἔχουσαι τοῖς Φοινικικοῖς<sup>5</sup>  
ὅμοια· καὶ φασὶ γε οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκούντες τὰς  
ὁμωνύμους τῶν Φοινίκων νήσους καὶ πόλεις  
ἀποίκους ἑαυτῶν. διέχουσι δὲ αἱ νῆσοι αὗται

<sup>1</sup> καί, Tyrwhitt inserts before καθ'.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰκαρον E. Ἰκαριον other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> γῆν, Meineke, for τήν.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρωμάτων ι, ἀρωματικῶν other MSS.

Androstenes the Thasian, who made the voyage, not only with Nearchus but also on his own account; so that it is clear from this that this sea is but little short of the Euxine in size; and Eratosthenes says that Androstenes, who sailed round the gulf with a fleet, states that in making the coasting voyage, with the continent on the right, one sees next after Teredon the island Icarus and a temple sacred to Apollo in it and an oracle of Tauropolis.<sup>1</sup>

3. After sailing along the coast of Arabia for a distance of two thousand four hundred stadia, one comes to Gerrha,<sup>2</sup> a city situated on a deep gulf; it is inhabited by Chaldaeans, exiles from Babylon; the soil contains salt and the people live in houses made of salt; and since flakes of salt continually scale off, owing to the scorching heat of the rays of the sun, and fall away, the people frequently sprinkle the houses with water and thus keep the walls firm. The city is two hundred stadia distant from the sea; and the Gerrhaeans traffic by land, for the most part, in the Arabian merchandise and aromatics, though Aristobulus says, on the contrary, that the Gerrhaei import most of their cargoes on rafts to Babylonia, and thence sail up the Euphrates with them, and then convey them by land to all parts of the country.

4. On sailing farther, one comes to other islands, I mean Tyre and Aradus, which have temples like those of the Phoenicians. It is asserted, at least by the inhabitants of the islands, that the islands and cities of the Phoenicians which bear the same name are their own colonies. These islands are

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Artemis Tauropolis.

<sup>2</sup> Now Adjer.

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<sup>5</sup> φοινικοῖς CDh, φοινικικίους ο, φοινικίους xx.

Τερηδόνος μὲν δεχήμερον πλοῦν, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Μάκαις ἡμερήσιον.

5. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Καρμανίας εἰρήκασι καὶ Νέαρχος καὶ Ὀρθαγόρας νῆσον Ὠγυριν<sup>1</sup> κείσθαι πρὸς νότον πελαγίαν ἐν δισχιλίοις σταδίοις, ἐν ᾗ τάφος Ἐρύθρα δείκνυται, χῶμα μέγα ἀγρίοις φοῖνιξι κατάφυτον· τοῦτον δὲ βασιλεῦσαι τῶν τόπων καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπώνυμον καταλιπεῖν· δηλῶσαι δὲ ταῦτά φησιν αὐτοῖς Μιθρωπάστην τὸν Ἀρσίτου<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Φρυγίας σατράπου, φυγόντα μὲν Δαρεῖον, διατρίψαντα δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, συμμίξαντα δὲ αὐτοῖς καταχθεῖσιν εἰς τὸν Περσικὸν κόλπον καὶ ζητοῦντα κύθοδον δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

6. Καθ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς παραλίαν κατὰ βυθοῦ φύεται δένδρα ὅμοια δάφνη καὶ ἐλαία, ταῖς μὲν ἀμπώτισιν ὅλα ὑπερφανῇ γιγνόμενα, ταῖς δὲ πλημμυρίσιν ἔσθ' ὅτε ὅλα καλυπτόμενα, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὑπερκειμένης γῆς ἀδένδρου οὔσης, ὥστε  
C 767 ἐπιτείνεσθαι<sup>3</sup> τὸ παράδοξον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κατὰ Πέρσας θαλάττης, ἣν ἐώαν πλευρὰν ἔφαμεν εἶναι τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας, τοιαῦτα εἶρηκεν Ἐρατοσθένης.

7. Φησὶ δ' ὁ Νέαρχος τὸν Μιθρωπάστην ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς μετὰ Μαζήνου· τὸν δὲ Μαζήνην ἐπάρχειν νήσου τινὸς τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ κόλπῳ· καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν νῆσον Ὀάρακτα·<sup>4</sup> εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὸν Μιθρωπάστην καταφυγόντα ξενίας τυχεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Ὠγυριν, Kramer, for Τυρίνην C D F h i k x, Τυρρηνήν E, Ὠγυρον Corais.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρσίτου, Meineke, for Ἀρηΐνου.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτείνεσθαι, Corais, for ἐπιγίνεσθαι.



distant a ten days' sail from Teredon and a one day's sail from the promontory near the mouth of the gulf at Macae.

5. Both Nearchus and Orthagoras state that the island Ogyris lies in the high sea at a distance of two thousand stadia from Carmania, and that on it is to be seen the grave of Erythras, a large mound planted with wild palm trees; and that Erythras reigned as king over that region and left the sea named after himself.<sup>1</sup> Nearchus says that these things were pointed out to them by Mithropastes, the son of Aristes, which latter was satrap of Phrygia; and that the former was banished by Dareius, took up his residence in the island, joined them when they landed in the Persian Gulf, and sought through them to be restored to his homeland.

6. Along the whole of the coast of the Red Sea, down in the deep, grow trees like the laurel and the olive, which at the ebb tides are wholly visible above the water but at the full tides are sometimes wholly covered;<sup>2</sup> and while this is the case, the land that lies above the sea has no trees, and therefore the peculiarity is all the greater. Such are the statements of Eratosthenes concerning the Persian Sea, which, as I was saying, forms the eastern side of Arabia Felix.

7. Nearchus says that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes; that Mazenes was ruler of an island in the Persian Gulf; that the island was called Oaracta; that Mithropastes took refuge, and obtained hospitality, in this island upon

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the "Erythraean" (Red) Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Coral Reefs, apparently.

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<sup>4</sup> Ὀάρακτα, Corais and Meineke, for Δύρακτα ποιεῖ, Δώρακτα other MSS., Δῶρα Stephanus.

κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ὀγύριος<sup>1</sup> γενομένην ἄφοδον, καὶ δὴ καὶ συνελθεῖν τῷ Μαζήνῃ<sup>2</sup> συσταθησόμενον τοῖς ἐν τῷ στόλῳ Μακεδόσι, τὸν δὲ Μαζήνην καὶ καθηγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ γενέσθαι. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Περσικοῦ παράπλου νῆσοι, ἐν ᾗ μαργαρίτης πολὺς καὶ πολυτίμητός ἐστιν, ἐν ἄλλαις δὲ ψῆφοι τῶν διαυγῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ Εὐφράτου νήσοις δένδρα φύεσθαι λιβάνου πνέοντα, ὧν τὰς ῥίζας κλωμένων ὁπὸν ῥεῖν· παγούρων δὲ καὶ ἐχίνων μεγέθη, ὅπερ κοινὸν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἔξω θαλάττῃ· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι μείζους καυσίων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δικοτύλους· ἐποκεῖλαν δὲ κῆτος ἰδεῖν πεντήκοντα πηχῶν.

## IV

1. Ἀρχὴ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐστὶν ἡ Μαικηνή<sup>3</sup>· πρόκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ μὲν ἡ ἔρημος τῶν Ἀράβων, τῇ δὲ τὰ ἔλη τὰ κατὰ Χαλδαίους, ἃ ποιεῖ παρεκχεόμενος ὁ Εὐφράτης, τῇ δὲ ἡ κατὰ Πέρσας θάλαττα, δυσάερος<sup>4</sup> οὖσα καὶ ὀμιχλώδης καὶ ἔπομβρος ἅμα καὶ καυματηρά, καλλίκαρπος<sup>5</sup> ἐστὶν ὅμως· ἡ δ' ἄμπελος ἐν ἔλεσι

<sup>1</sup> Ὀγύριος, Tzschucke and Kramer and Meineke, for Ὀγύρου.

<sup>2</sup> Μαζήνη, Tzschucke, for Ἀμαζήνη.

<sup>3</sup> Μαικηνή appears to be an error for Μαισηνή (or Μεσηνή). Cp. Μεσήνης (2. 1. 31) and Μεσηνῶν (16. 1. 8).

<sup>4</sup> δέ, after δυσάερος, Corais deletes.

his departure from Ogyris; that, furthermore, Mithropastes had a conference with Mazenes for the purpose of being recommended by him to the Macedonians in the fleet; and that Mazenes became guide in their voyage. Nearchus goes on to say that there is an island at the beginning of the Persian Gulf where quantities of valuable pearls are to be found; and that in other islands there are pebbles of transparent and brilliant stones; and that in the islands off the mouth of the Euphrates there are trees which smell like frankincense, and that juice flows from their roots when they are broken in pieces. And he speaks of the large size of the crabs and sea-urchins, which is a common thing in the whole of the exterior sea; for, he adds, some are larger than hats<sup>1</sup> and others as large as a vessel holding two cotylæ;<sup>2</sup> and he says that he saw a whale stranded on the beach that was fifty cubits<sup>3</sup> in length.

## IV

1. Arabia commences on the side of Babylonia with Maecenê. In front of Maecenê, on one side, lies the desert of the Arabians; and on another side lie the marshes opposite the Chaldaeans, which are formed by diversions of water from the Euphrates; and on another side lies the Persian Sea. The country has foul air, is misty, and is subject both to rains and to scorching heat; but still its products are excellent. The vine grows in the marshes, as

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word implies the broad-brimmed felt hats worn by the Macedonians.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* nearly a pint.

<sup>3</sup> About 100 feet.

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<sup>5</sup> δέ, Corais inserts.

φύεται, καλαμίαις ῥιψὶν ἐπιβαλλομένης γῆς, ὅση δέξαιτ' ἂν τὸ φυτόν, ὥστε φορητὴν γίνεσθαι πολλάκις, εἴτα κοντοῖς ἀπωθεῖσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔδραν.

2. Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐρατοσθένους ἀποφάσεις, ἃς ἐξῆς περὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐκτίθεται. φησὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου καὶ ἐρήμης, ἣτις ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τῆς τε εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Κοιλοσύρων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, διότι ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως, ἣτις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ μυχὸς<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ναβαταίων Πέτραν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα πεντακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι, πᾶσα μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς θερινάς, διὰ δὲ τῶν παρακειμένων Ἀραβίων ἐθνῶν Ναβαταίων τε καὶ Χαυλοταίων καὶ Ἀγραίων ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἡ Εὐδαίμων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκκειμένα σταδίου πρὸς νότον μέχρι τοῦ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους. ἔχουσι δ' αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι μετὰ τοὺς Σύρους καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἄνθρωποι γεωργοί· μετὰ δὲ τούτους διάμμός ἐστι γῆ καὶ λυπρά, φοίνικας ἔχουσα ὀλίγους καὶ ἄκανθαι καὶ μυρίκην καὶ ὀρυκτὰ ὕδατα, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Γεδρωσία· σκηνίζεται δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτὴν C 768 Ἀραβες καὶ καμηλοβοσκοί. τὰ δ' ἔσχατα πρὸς νότον καὶ ἀνταίροντα τῇ Αἰθιοπία βρέχεται τε θερινοῖς ὄμβροις καὶ δισπορεῖται παραπλησίως τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, ποταμοὺς δ' ἔχει καταναλισκομένους εἰς πεδιά καὶ λίμνας. εὐκαρπία δ' ἐστὶν ἥ τε ἄλλη

<sup>1</sup> Corais and Meineke insert ἐν τῷ after ἐστὶ, and emend μυχὸς to μυχῷ, but cp. ἔστι δ' ἡ Ἄλωρος τὸ μυχαῖτατον τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου (Book VII, *Frag.* 20), and οὗτος (*i.e.* the recess of the Arabian Gulf referred to) ὀνομάζεται Ποσειδίου.

much earth being thrown on hurdles of reeds as the plant may require; so that the vine is often carried away, and then is pushed back again to its proper place by means of poles.

2. But I return to Eratosthenes, who next sets forth his opinions concerning Arabia. He says concerning the northerly, or desert, part of Arabia, which lies between Arabia Felix and Coelê-Syria and Judaea, extending as far as the recess of the Arabian Gulf, that from the City of Heroes,<sup>1</sup> which forms a recess of the Arabian Gulf near the Nile, the distance in the direction of the Petra of the Nabataeans to Babylon is five thousand six hundred stadia, the whole of the journey being in the direction of the summer sunrise<sup>2</sup> and through the adjacent countries of the Arabian tribes, I mean the Nabataeans and the Chaulotaeans and the Agraeans. Above these lies Arabia Felix, which extends for a distance of twelve thousand stadia towards the south, to the Atlantic Sea. The first people who occupy Arabia Felix, after the Syrians and Judaeans, are farmers. After these the soil is sandy and barren, producing a few palm-trees and a thorny tree<sup>3</sup> and the tamarisk, and affording water by digging, as is the case in Gedrosia;<sup>4</sup> and it is occupied by tent-dwellers and camel-herds. The extreme parts towards the south, lying opposite to Aethiopia, are watered by summer rains and are sowed twice, like India;<sup>5</sup> and the rivers there are used up in supplying plains and lakes. The country

<sup>1</sup> Heröonpolis.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* north-east (cf. Vol. I, p. 105, note 1).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the *Mimosa Nilotica*.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* well-water (see 15. 2. 3).

<sup>5</sup> See 15. 1. 20 and 17. 3. 11.

και μελιτουργεία δαψιλῇ, βοσκημάτων τε ἀφθονία πλὴν ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ ὕων, ὄρνεά τε παντοῖα πλὴν χηνῶν καὶ ἀλεκτορίδων. κατοικεῖ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τέτταρα ἔθνη τὴν ἐσχάτην λεχθεῖσαν χώραν· Μιναῖοι <sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν μέρει, πόλις δ' αὐτῶν ἡ μεγίστη Κάρνα ἢ Κάρ-  
 νανα· <sup>2</sup> ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων Σαβαῖοι, μητρόπολις δ' αὐτῶν Μαρίαβα· τρίτοι δὲ Κατταβανεῖς, καθή-  
 κοντες πρὸς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, τὸ δὲ βασιλείον αὐτῶν Τάμνα καλεῖται· πρὸς ἑω δὲ μάλιστα Χατραμωτῖται, πόλιν δ' ἔχουσι Σάβαταν.

3. Μοναρχοῦνται δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ εἰσιν εὐδαίμονες, κατεσκευασμένοι καλῶς ἱεροῖς τε καὶ βασιλείοις· αἱ τε οἰκίαι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις εἰκόασι κατὰ τὴν τῶν ξύλων ἔνδεσιν· χώραν δ' ἐπέχουσιν οἱ τέτταρες νομοὶ μείζω τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον Δέλτα· διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐ παῖς παρὰ πατρός, ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν πρῶτος γεννηθῇ τινι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παῖς μετὰ τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ βασιλέως· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ κατασταθῆναί τινα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναγράφονται τὰς ἐγκύους γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐφιστᾶσι φύλακας· ἥτις δ' <sup>3</sup> ἂν πρώτη τέκη, τὸν ταύτης <sup>4</sup> υἱὸν νόμος ἐστὶν ἀναληφθέντα τρέφεσθαι βασιλικῶς, ὡς διαδεξόμενον.

4. Φέρει δὲ λιβανωτὸν μὲν ἡ Κατταβανία, σμύρναν δὲ ἡ Χατραμωτῖτις· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρώματα μεταβάλλονται τοῖς ἐμπόροις.

<sup>1</sup> Μιναῖοι E, Μηναιῖοι Dhi, Μειναῖοι other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> I<sup>h</sup> has ἡ Καρανᾶν, CDh Καρανᾶ, ux ἡ Καρανά ; Emoz omit.

<sup>3</sup> δ', after ἥτις, Corais inserts.

<sup>4</sup> ταύτης, the editors, for αὐτῆς.

is in general fertile, and abounds in particular with places for making honey; and, with the exception of horses and mules and hogs, it has an abundance of domesticated animals; and, with the exception of geese and chickens, has all kinds of birds. The extreme part of the country above-mentioned is occupied by the four largest tribes; by the Minaeans, on the side towards the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna or Carnana; next to these, by the Sabaeans, whose metropolis is Mariaba;<sup>1</sup> third, by Cattabanians, whose territory extends down to the straits and the passage across the Arabian Gulf, and whose royal seat is called Tamna; and, farthest toward the east, the Chatramotitae, whose city is Sabata.<sup>2</sup>

3. All these cities are ruled by monarchs and are prosperous, being beautifully adorned with both temples and royal palaces. And the houses are like those of the Aegyptians in respect to the manner in which the timbers are joined together. The four jurisdictions cover more territory than the Aegyptian Delta; and no son of a king succeeds to the throne of his father, but the son of some notable man who is born first after the appointment of the king; for at the same time that some one is appointed to the throne, they register the pregnant wives of their notable men and place guards over them; and by law the wife's son who is born first is adopted and reared in a royal manner as future successor to the throne.

4. Cattabania produces frankincense,<sup>3</sup> and Chatramotitis produces myrrh; and both these and the other aromatics are bartered to merchants. These

<sup>1</sup> Now Marib.

<sup>2</sup> Also spelled Sabattha; now Sawa.

<sup>3</sup> The gum of the libanus tree.

ἔρχονται δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕξ Αἰλάνων μὲν εἰς Μιναίαν ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραις· ἔστι δ' ἡ Αἶλανα πόλις ἐν θατέρῳ μυχῶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, τῷ κατὰ Γάζαν τῷ Αἰλανίτῃ καλουμένῳ, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν· Γερραῖοι<sup>1</sup> δ' εἰς τὴν Χατραμωτίτιν ἐν τετταράκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφικνοῦνται. τοῦ δ' Ἀραβίου κόλπου τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν πλευρὸν ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰλανίτου μυχοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνέγραψαν καὶ Ἀναξικράτη, μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων ἐστίν· εἴρηται δὲ ἐπὶ πλεον. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικήν, ὅπερ ἐστίν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἀποπλέουσιν ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως, μέχρι μὲν Πτολεμαίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήρας, ἐννακισχίλιοι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν στάδιοι καὶ μικρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῷ· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ μέχρι τῶν στενῶν, ὡς τετρακισχίλιοι C 769 καὶ πεντακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἑῷ μᾶλλον. ποιεῖ δὲ ἄκρα τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, Δειρὴ καλουμένη, καὶ πολίχνιον ὁμώνυμον αὐτῇ· κατοικοῦσι δὲ Ἰχθυοφάγοι. καὶ φασιν ἐνταῦθα στήλην εἶναι Σεσώστριος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, μηνύουσιν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τὴν διάβασιν αὐτοῦ. φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα καὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικήν πρῶτος καταστρεψάμενος οὗτος, εἶτα διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, κἀντεῦθεν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν σύμπασαν· διὸ δὴ πολλαχοῦ Σεσώστριος χάρακες προσαγορεύονται, καὶ ἀφιδρύματά ἐστιν Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν ἱερῶν. τὰ δὲ κατὰ Δειρὴν στενὰ συνάγεται εἰς σταδίους ἑξήκοντα· οὐ μὴν ταῦτά γε καλεῖται νυνὶ στενὰ, ἀλλὰ προσπλεύσασιν ἀπωτέρω, καθὼς τὸ μὲν διάρμιά ἐστι τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπεύρων δια-

<sup>1</sup> Γερραῖοι EFGmgo, Γαβαῖοι other MSS.



arrive there in seventy days from Aelana<sup>1</sup> (Aelana is a city on the other recess of the Arabian Gulf, the recess near Gaza<sup>2</sup> called Aelanites, as I have said before),<sup>3</sup> but the Gerrhaeans arrive at Chatramotitis in forty days. The part of the Arabian Gulf along the side of Arabia, beginning at the Aelanites recess, is, as recorded by Alexander's associates and by Anaxicrates, fourteen thousand stadia, though this figure is excessive; and the part opposite the Troglodytic country (which is on the right as one sails from the City of Heroes), as far as Ptolemaïs and the country where elephants are captured, extends nine thousand stadia towards the south and slightly in the direction of the east; and thence, as far as the straits, four thousand five hundred stadia, in a direction more towards the east. The straits are formed towards Aethiopia by a promontory called Deirê,<sup>4</sup> and by a town bearing the same name, which is inhabited by the Ichthyophagi.<sup>5</sup> And here, it is said, there is a pillar of Sesostris the Aegyptian, which tells in hieroglyphics of his passage across the gulf; for manifestly he was the first man to subdue the countries of the Aethiopians and the Troglodytes; and he then crossed into Arabia, and thence invaded the whole of Asia; and accordingly, for this reason, there are in many places palisades of Sesostris, as they are called, and reproductions of temples of Aegyptian gods. The straits at Deirê contract to a width of sixty stadia. However, it is not these that are called straits now, but a place farther along on the voyage, where the voyage across the gulf between

<sup>1</sup> Now Kasr-el-Akaba.

<sup>2</sup> Now Azzah.

<sup>3</sup> 16. 2. 30.

<sup>4</sup> "Neck."

<sup>5</sup> Fish-eaters.

κοσίων που σταδίων, ἐξ δὲ νῆσοι συνεχεῖς ἀλλή-  
λαις τὸ διάρμα ἐκπληροῦσαι στενοὺς τελέως  
διάπλους ἀπολείπουσιν, δι' ὧν σχεδίαις τὰ φορτία  
κομίζουσι δεῦρο κᾶκεῖσε, καὶ λέγουσι ταῦτα  
στενά. μετὰ δὲ τὰς νήσους ὁ ἐξῆς πλοῦς ἐστὶν  
ἐγκολπίζουσι παρὰ τὴν σμυρνοφόρον ἐπὶ τὴν  
μεσημβρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἑω μέχρι πρὸς τὴν τὸ  
κιννάμωμον φέρουσαν, ὅσον πεντακισχιλίων στα-  
δίων· πέρα δὲ ταύτης οὐδένα ἀφίχθαι φασὶ  
μέχρι νῦν. πόλεις δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ παραλίᾳ μὴ  
πολλὰς εἶναι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν πολλὰς  
οἰκουμένας καλῶς. τὰ μὲν δὲ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους  
περὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοιαῦτα· προσθετέον δὲ καὶ τὰ  
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

δ. Φησὶ δ' Ἀρτεμίδωρος τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἐκ  
τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀκρωτήριον τῇ Δειρῇ καλεῖσθαι  
Ἀκίλαν· τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν Δειρὴν κολοβούς εἶναι  
τὰς βαλάνους. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡρώων πόλεως πλέουσι  
κατὰ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν πόλιν εἶναι Φιλωτέραν  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου  
προσαγορευθεῖσαν, Σατύρου κτίσμα τοῦ πεμφ-  
θέντος ἐπὶ τὴν διερεύνησιν τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων  
θήρας καὶ τῆς Τρωγλοδυτικῆς· εἶτα ἄλλην πόλιν  
Ἀρσινόην· εἶτα θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολὰς πικρῶν  
καὶ ἀλμυρῶν, κατὰ πέτρας τινὸς ὑψηλῆς ἐκδι-  
δόντων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ πλησίον ὄρος ἐστὶν  
ἐν πεδίῳ μιλτῶδες· εἶτα Μυδὸς ὄρμον, ὃν<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
Ἀφροδίτης ὄρμον καλεῖσθαι, λιμένα μέγαν, τὸν  
εἰσπλουν ἔχοντα σκολιόν· προκεῖσθαι δὲ νήσους  
τρεῖς, δύο μὲν ἐλαίαις κατασκίους, μίαν δ' ἥττον

<sup>1</sup> ὃν is omitted by all MSS. except E.

the two continents is about two hundred stadia, and where are six islands, which follow one another in close succession, fill up the channel, and leave between them extremely narrow passages; through these merchandise is transported from one continent to the other; and for these the name "straits" is used. After the islands, the next voyage, following the sinuosities of the bays, along the myrrh-bearing country in the direction of south and east as far as the cinnamon-bearing country, is about five thousand stadia; and to the present time, it is said, no one has arrived beyond that country; and though there are not many cities on the coast, there are many in the interior that are beautifully settled. Such, then, is Eratosthenes' account of Arabia; but I must also add the accounts of the other writers.

5. Artemidorus says that the promontory on the Arabian side opposite to Deirê is called Acila; and that the males in the neighbourhood of Deirê have their sexual glands mutilated.<sup>1</sup> As one sails from the City of Heroes along the Troglodytic country, one comes to a city Philotera, which was named after the sister of the second Ptolemy, having been founded by Satyrus, who had been sent for the purpose of investigating the Troglodytic country and the hunting of elephants. Then to another city, Arsinoê. Then to springs of hot water, salty and bitter, which flow down a high rock and empty into the sea. Near by, in a plain, is a mountain that is red as ruddle. Then one comes to Myus Harbour, which is also called Aphrodite's Harbour; it is a large harbour with a winding entrance, off which lie three islands; two of these are densely shaded with olive trees, while

<sup>1</sup> See 16. 2. 37, and 16. 4. 9, 10.

κατάσκιον, μελεαγρίδων μεστήν· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὸν Ἀκάθαρτον κόλπον, καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα κείμενον, καθάπερ τὸν Μυὸς ὄρμον, ὧντως<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἀκάθαρτον· καὶ γὰρ ὑφάλοις χοιράσι καὶ ῥαχίαις ἐκτετράχυνται καὶ πνοαῖς καταιγιζούσαις τὸ πλέον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἰδρῦσθαι Βερενίκην πόλιν ἐν βάθει τοῦ κόλπου.

C 770

6. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κόλπον ἡ Ὀφιώδης καλουμένη νῆσος ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, ἣν ἡλευθέρωσε τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἅμα καὶ διὰ τὰς φθορὰς τῶν προσορμιζομένων ἀνθρώπων τὰς ἐκ τῶν θηρίων καὶ διὰ τὰ τοπάζια. λίθος δὲ ἐστὶ διαφανὴς χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστίλβων<sup>2</sup> φέγγος, ὅσον μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ (περιαυγεῖται<sup>3</sup> γάρ), νύκτωρ δ' ὁρώσιν οἱ συλλέγοντες· περικαθάψαντες δὲ ἀγγεῖον σημείου χάριν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀνορύττουσι· καὶ ἦν σύστημα ἀνθρώπων ἀποδεδειγμένων εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς λιθείας ταύτης καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν, σιταρκούμενον<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων.

7. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην πολλὰ ἐστὶν Ἰχθυοφάγων γένη καὶ Νομάδων· εἴθ' ὁ τῆς Σωτείρας λιμὴν, ὃν ἐκ κινδύνων μεγάλων τινὲς σωθέντες τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος οὕτως ἐκάλεσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάλλαξις πολλὴ τῆς παραλίας καὶ τοῦ κόλπου· τὸν γὰρ παράπλου οὐκέτι συμβαίνει τραχὺν εἶναι, συνάπτειν τέ πως τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ταπεινὸν

<sup>1</sup> ὧντως F, οὕτως Dh, οὕτω other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπολάμπων CE<sup>2</sup>moz.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπεραυγεῖται E (Kramer approving); περιαυγεῖται other MSS.

the third is less so and is full of guinea-fowls.<sup>1</sup> Then, next, one comes to the Acathartus<sup>2</sup> Gulf, which also, like Myus Harbour, lies opposite Thebaïs, and is really "acarthartus," for it is roughened by reefs and submarine rocks, and, most of the time, by tempestuous winds. And here, deep inland on the recess of the gulf, lies a city Berenicê.

6. After the gulf, one comes to the island Ophiodes,<sup>3</sup> so called from the fact in the case; but it was freed from the serpents by the king, both because of their destruction of the people who landed there and on account of the topazes found there. Topaz is a transparent stone that sparkles with a golden lustre—so dimly in the day-time, however, that one cannot easily see it (for it is outshone by the rays of the sun), but those who collect it see it at night, place a vessel over it as a sign and dig it up in the day-time. There was an organisation of people who were appointed by the kings of Aegypt to keep guard over this stone and the collecting of it; and this organisation was supplied by them with provisions.

7. After this island one comes to many tribes of Ichthyophagi and Nomads. And then to the Harbour of Soteira,<sup>4</sup> which was so called from the fact in the case by certain commanders who had been saved from great dangers. After this there is a great change in the coast and the gulf; for the coasting voyage is no longer rough, and in a way closely approaches Arabia; and the sea is as low, I

<sup>1</sup> *Numida Meleagris*.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "Foul."

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* "Snaky."

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* "Saviour" (some goddess).

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<sup>4</sup> *σιταρχούμενον*, Corais, for *σιταρχούμενον*.

εἶναι, σχεδόν τι καὶ ἐπὶ δυο ὀργυιάς, ποάζειν τε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν διαφαινομένου τοῦ μνίου καὶ τοῦ φύκους, ὅπερ πλεονάζει κατὰ τὸν πόρον· ὅπου γε καὶ δένδρα φύεται καθ' ὕδατος παρὰ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα· ἔχει δὲ καὶ κυνῶν πλήθος τῶν θαλαττίων ὁ πόρος· εἴθ' οἱ Ταῦροι, δύο ὄρη τύπον τινὰ πόρρωθεν δεικνύντα τοῖς ζώοις ὅμοιον. εἴτ' ἄλλο ὄρος ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Ἰσιδος, Σεσώστριος ἀφίδρυμα· εἶτα νῆσος ἐλαία κατάφυτος ἐπικλιζομένη· μεθ' ἣν ἡ Πτολεμαῖς πρὸς τῇ θήρᾳ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, κτίσμα Εὐμήδους τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ὑπὸ Φιλαδέλφου, λάθρα περιβαλομένου<sup>1</sup> χερρονήσῳ τινὶ τάφρον καὶ περίβολον, εἴτ' ἐκθεραπεύσαντος τοὺς κωλύοντας καὶ κατεσκευασμένου<sup>2</sup> φίλους ἀντὶ δυσμενῶν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ ἐκδίδωσιν ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα καλουμένου ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ λίμνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων μέρος μὲν τι ἐκδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ πλεον συμβάλλει τῷ Νείλῳ· εἶτα νῆσοι ἐξ Λατομίαι καλούμεναι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ Σαβαϊτικὸν στόμα λεγόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ φρούριον, Τοσοῦχου<sup>3</sup> Ἰδρυμα· εἶτα λιμὴν καλούμενος Ἐλαία<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἡ Στράτωνος νῆσος· εἶτα λιμὴν Σαβὰ καὶ κυνήγιον ἐλεφάντων, ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ. ἡ δ' ἐν βάθει τούτων χώρα Τηνεσσίς λέγεται·

<sup>1</sup> περιβαλομένου, Corais, for περιβαλλομένου.

<sup>2</sup> κατεσκευασμένου CDF<sup>h</sup>x.

<sup>3</sup> Τοσοῦχου E, Corais, Kramer, and Meineke; τὸ Σούχοι other MSS. C. Müller plausibly conj. φρούριόν τι, Σούχοι, Ἰδρυμα (cp. Σούχος, 17. 1. 38).

<sup>4</sup> Ἐλεα FD<sup>h</sup>, and E has αἰ above ε.

<sup>1</sup> "Tauri" means "Bulls."

might almost say, as two fathoms in depth; and the surface is covered, grass-like, with sea-weeds and rock-weeds that are visible below the surface—a thing still more in evidence at the strait, where, among the plants, even trees grow down below the water; and the strait has also a large number of sea-dogs. Then one comes to the Tauri, two mountains which from a distance present the outlines of the animals.<sup>1</sup> Then to another mountain, which has a temple sacred to Isis, a reproduction<sup>2</sup> built by Sesostris. Then to an island planted with olive trees and subject to inundation; and after this to Ptolemaïs, near the hunting-grounds for elephants, a city founded by Eumedes, who had been sent to the hunting-grounds by Philadelphus;<sup>3</sup> Eumedes secretly enclosed a kind of peninsula with a ditch and wall, and then, by courteous treatment of those who tried to hinder the work, actually won them over as friends instead of foes.

8. In the interval there empties a branch of the Astaboras River, as it is called, which, having its source in a lake, empties a part of its waters,<sup>4</sup> but for the most part joins the Nile. Then one comes to six islands called Latomiae;<sup>5</sup> and then to the Sabaïtic mouth, as it is called, and to a fortress in the interior which was founded by Tosuches. And then to a harbour called Elaea and to the island of Strato. And then to a harbour called Saba and to a hunting-ground for elephants of the same name. The country deep in the interior is called Tenessis;

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* of an Aegyptian temple.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* into the gulf.

<sup>5</sup> Quarries.

C 771 ἔχουσι δ' αὐτὴν οἱ παρὰ Ψαμμιτίχου φυγάδες Αἰγυπτίων· ἐπονομάζονται δὲ Σεμβρίται,<sup>1</sup> ὥς ἂν ἐπήλυδες· βασιλεύονται δ' ὑπὸ γυναικός, ὃν<sup>2</sup> ἔστι καὶ ἡ Μερὴν, πλησίον τῶν τόπων οὖσα τούτων ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσος, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄλλη ἔστι νῆσος οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, κατοικία τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων φυγάδων. ἀπὸ δὲ Μερῆς ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλατταν εὐζώνῳ ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. περὶ δὲ τὴν Μερὴν καὶ ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ τε Ἀσταβόρα καὶ τοῦ Ἀστάπου καὶ ἔτι τοῦ Ἀστασόβα<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον.

9. Παροικοῦσι δὲ τούτοις οἱ Ῥιζοφάγοι καὶ Ἐλειοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ παρακειμένου ρίζοτομοῦντας ἔλους κόπτειν λίθοις καὶ ἀναπλάσσειν μάζας, ἡλιάσαντες δὲ σιτεῖσθαι· λεοντόβατα δ' ἔστι τὰ χωρία· ταῖς θ' ὑπὸ κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴν ἡμέραις ὑπὸ κωνόπων μεγάλων ἐξελαύνεται τὰ θηρία ἐκ τῶν τόπων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Σπερμοφάγοι πλησίον, οἳ τῶν σπερμάτων ἐπιλιπόντων ἀπὸ<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἀκροδρύων τρέφονται, σκευάζοντες παραπλησίως, ὥσπερ τὰς ρίζας οἱ Ῥιζοφάγοι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλαίαν<sup>5</sup> αἱ Δημητρίου<sup>6</sup> σκοπιαὶ καὶ βωμοὶ Κόνωνος· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ καλάμων Ἰνδικῶν φύεται πλῆθος· καλεῖται δὲ ἡ χώρα Κορακίου. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν βάθει Ἐνδέρα, γυμνητῶν ἀνθρώπων κατοικία, τόξοις χρωμένων καλαμίνοις καὶ πεπυρακτωμένοις ὀϊστοῖς· ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Σεμβρίται, Corais, for Σεβρίται F, Σεβρίται other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἧς DFhrw.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀστασόβα Corais, for Ἀστασόβα margin of F, Ἀσταγάβα other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπό, Meineke, for ὑπό.



and it is occupied by the Aegyptians who went there as exiles from Psammitichus. They are called Sembritae, as being foreigners.<sup>1</sup> They are governed by a queen, to whom also Meroê, an island in the Nile near that region, is subject; and above this island, at no great distance, is another island in the river, a settlement of these same exiles. The journey from Meroê to this sea,<sup>2</sup> for a well-girded traveller, requires fifteen days. Near Meroê is the confluence of the Astaboras and the Astapus, as also of the Astasobas with the Nile.

9. Along these rivers live the Rhizophagi<sup>3</sup> and the Heleii,<sup>4</sup> who are so called because they cut roots from the adjacent marsh, crush them with stones, form them into cakes, and then heat the cakes in the sun's rays and use them for food. This region is the haunt of lions; and the beasts are driven out of this region by large gnats on the days of the rising of the dog-star. Near by are also the Spermophagi,<sup>5</sup> who, when the seeds fail, live on nuts, preparing them for eating in the same manner as the Rhizophagi prepare roots. After Elaea one comes to the Look-outs of Demetrius and the Altars of Conon; and in the interior grows an abundance of Indian reeds; and the country is called the country of Coracius. Deep in the interior was a place called Endera, a settlement of naked people, who use bows made of reeds and arrows hardened by fire; and generally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 17. 1. 2 and Herodotus 2. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of Saba.

<sup>3</sup> Root-eaters.

<sup>4</sup> Marsh-men.

<sup>5</sup> Seed-eaters.

<sup>5</sup> Ελαίαν E (with ε above αι) ; 'Ελέαν other MSS. except ix.

<sup>6</sup> Δημήτρου F, Δήμητρος Ptolemaeus.

δένδρων δὲ τοξεύουσι τὰ θηρία τὸ πλεόν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς· πολὺ δ' ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς πληθὸς τῶν ἀγρίων βοῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων κρεοφαγίας<sup>1</sup> ζῶσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ μηδὲν θηρεύσωσι, τὰ ξηρὰ δέρματα ἐπ' ἀνθρακιᾶς ὀπτῶντες ἀρκοῦνται τῇ τοιαύτῃ τροφῇ. ἔθος δ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνα τοξείας προτιθέναι τοῖς ἀνήβοις παισί. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κόνωνος βωμοὺς ὁ Μήλινος λιμὴν· ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτοῦ φρούριον Κοράου καλούμενον καὶ κυνήγιον τοῦ Κοράου καὶ ἄλλο φρούριον<sup>2</sup> καὶ κυνήγια πλείω· εἶτα ὁ Ἀντιφίλου λιμὴν καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτου Κρεοφάγοι,<sup>3</sup> κολοβοὶ τὰς βαλάνους καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐκτετμημέναι.

10. Ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν οἱ Κυναμολγοί, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐντοπίων Ἀγριοὶ καλούμενοι, κατάκομοι, καταπώγωνες, κύνας ἐκτρέφοντες εὐμεγέθεις, οἷς θηρεύουσι τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐκ τῆς πλησιοχώρου βόας Ἰνδικούς, εἴθ' ὑπὸ θηρίων ἐξελαυνομένους εἴτε σπάνει νομῆς· ἢ δ' ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν μέχρι μέσου χειμῶνος. τῷ δ' Ἀντιφίλου λιμένι ἐξῆς ἔστι λιμὴν καλούμενος Κολοβῶν ἄλσος καὶ Βερενίκη πόλις ἢ κατὰ Σαβὰς καὶ Σαβαί, πόλις εὐμεγέθης· εἶτα τὸ τοῦ Εὐμένους ἄλσος. ὑπέρκειται δὲ πόλις Δάραβα<sup>4</sup> καὶ κυνήγιον ἐλεφάντων

<sup>1</sup> κρεοφαγίας CF, κρεωφαγίας other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The words Κοράου . . . φρούριον are omitted by all MSS. except EF.

<sup>3</sup> Κρεόφαγοι F, Κρεάφαγοι other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Δαραβά *moax*, Δίραδα other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Meat-eaters.

<sup>2</sup> See 16. 4. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Milkers of bitches.

they shoot wild animals from trees, but sometimes from the ground; and they have in their country a great multitude of wild cattle; and they live on the flesh of these and the other wild animals, but when they take nothing in the chase they bake dried skins on hot coals and are satisfied with such food as that. It is their custom to propose contests in archery for boys who are in their teens. After the Altars of Conon one comes to the Melinus Harbour, above which lie a Fortress of Coraüs, as it is called, and a Hunting-ground of Coraüs and another fortress and several hunting-grounds. And then to the Harbour of Antiphilus, and, above this, to the Creophagi,<sup>1</sup> of whom the males have their sexual glands mutilated and the women are excised in the Jewish fashion.<sup>2</sup>

10. Also above these, approximately towards the south, are the Cynamolgi,<sup>3</sup> by the natives called Agrii, who have long hair and long beards and raise good-sized dogs. With these dogs they hunt Indian cattle which come in from the neighbouring territory, whether driven thither by wild beasts or by scarcity of pasturage. The time of their incursion is from the summer solstice to mid-winter. Next after the Harbour of Antiphilus one comes to the Grove of the Colobi,<sup>4</sup> and to Berenicê, a Sabaeon city, and to Sabae, a good-sized city; and then to the Grove of Eumenes. Above the grove lie a city Daraba and the hunting-ground for elephants called "The one

<sup>4</sup> "Colobi" means "persons" (who have their sexual glands) "mutilated." Cp. 16. 2. 37 and 16. 3. 5, 9. Diodorus Siculus (3. 32) says: "All the Troglodytes are circumcised like the Egyptians except those who, from the fact in the case, are called 'Colobi'; for these alone, who live this side the Strait, have all the part that is merely circumcised by the others cut off with razors in infancy."

C 772 τὸ πρὸς τῷ φρέατι καλούμενον· κατοικοῦσι δ' Ἐλεφαντοφάγοι, τὴν θήραν ποιούμενοι τοιαύτην· ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἰδόντες ἀγέλην διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ φερομένην, τῇ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται, τοὺς δ' ἀποπλανηθέντας ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθεν λάθρα προσιόντες νευροκοποῦσι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτοὺς χολῇ βεβαμμένοις ὄφειν· ἡ δὲ τοξεία διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν συντελεῖται, τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποσὶ, τοῦ δ' ἔλκοντος τὴν νευράν· ἄλλοι δὲ σημειωσάμενοι τὰ δένδρα, οἷς εἰώθασι προσαναπαύεσθαι, προσιόντες ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τὸ στέλεχος ὑποκόπτουσιν· ἐπὰν οὖν προσιὸν τὸ θηρίον ἀποκλίνη πρὸς αὐτό, πεσόντος τοῦ δένδρου πίπτει καὶ αὐτό, ἀναστῆναι δὲ μὴ δυναμένου διὰ τὸ τὰ σκέλη διηνεκὲς ὅστουν ἔχειν καὶ ἀκαμπές, καταπηδήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἀνατέμνουσιν αὐτό· τοὺς δὲ κυνηγοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἀκαθάρτους καλοῦσιν.

11. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτων ἔθνος οὐ μέγα Στρουθοφάγων, παρ' οἷς ὄρνεις εἰσὶ μέγεθος ἐλάφων ἔχοντες, πετᾶσθαι μὲν οὐ δυνάμενοι, θέοντες δὲ ὀξέως, καθάπερ οἱ στρουθοκάμηλοι· θηρεύουσι δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τόξοις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν στρουθῶν σκεπασθέντες τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν καλύπτουσι τῷ τραχηλιμαίῳ μέρει καὶ κινοῦσιν οὕτως, ὥσπερ τὰ ζῶα κινεῖται τοῖς τραχήλοις, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ σπέρμα προχέουσιν ἀπὸ πῆρας παρηρτημένης, καὶ τούτῳ δελεάσαντες τὰ ζῶα εἰς φάραγγας συνωθοῦσιν· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐφεστῶτες ξυλοκόποι κατακόπτουσιν· καὶ ἀμπέχονται δὲ καὶ ὑποστόρνυνται<sup>1</sup> τὰ δέρματα ταῦτα.

<sup>1</sup> C<sub>monz</sub> read ὑποστρώννυνται.

near the well "; they are inhabited by the Elephantophagi,<sup>1</sup> who engage in the chase of elephants. When from trees they first see a herd of elephants moving through the forest they do not then attack them, but stealthily follow the herd and hamstring those that have wandered from the rear of the herd. Some, however, kill them with arrows dipped in the gall of serpents. But the shooting of the bow is performed by three persons; two of these step to the front and hold the bow, and the third draws the string. Others, noting the trees against which the elephants are wont to rest, approach them from the other side and cut the trunks of these trees low down. So when the elephant approaches and leans against it, the tree falls and the elephant falls too; and since the elephant is unable to arise, because its legs have only a continuous and unbending bone, they leap down from the trees and cut the animal to pieces. The Nomads call the hunters "Acatharti."<sup>2</sup>

11. Above these is situated a tribe of no large size, that of the Struthophagi,<sup>3</sup> in whose country there are birds of the size of deer, which, though unable to fly, run swiftly, like ostriches. Some hunt them with bows and arrows, whereas others, covered with the skins of birds, conceal the right hand in the neck of the skin and move it in the same way as the birds move their necks, and with the left hand they pour forth seeds from a bag suspended to the side, and with these seeds they bait the creatures and run them together into gullies, where men with cudgels, standing over them, slaughter them. And their skins are used both for clothing and for bed-covers.

<sup>1</sup> Elephant-eaters.                      <sup>2</sup> i.e. "Unclean."

<sup>3</sup> Bird-eaters.

πολεμοῦσι δὲ τούτοις οἱ Σιμοὶ<sup>1</sup> καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες, κέρασιν ὀρύγων ὄπλοις χρώμενοι.

12. Πλησιόχωροι δὲ τούτοις εἰσὶ μελανώτεροί τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βραχύτεροι καὶ βραχυβιῶτατοι Ἀκριδοφάγοι.<sup>2</sup> τὰ γὰρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη σπανίως ὑπερτιθέασιν, ἀποθηριουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς σαρκός· ζῶσι δ' ἀπὸ ἀκρίδων, ἃς οἱ ἑαρινοὶ λίβες καὶ ζέφυροι, πνέοντες μεγάλοι, συνελαύνουσιν εἰς τοὺς τύπους τούτους· ἐν ταῖς χαράδραις δὲ ἐμβαλόντες ὕλην καπνώδη καὶ ὑφάψαντες μικρὸν<sup>3</sup> . . . ὑπερπετάμεναι<sup>4</sup> γὰρ<sup>5</sup> τὸν καπνὸν σκοτοῦνται καὶ πίπτουσι·<sup>6</sup> συγκόψαντες δ' αὐτὰς μεθ' ἄλμυρίδος μάζας ποιοῦνται καὶ χρώνται. τούτων δ' ἔρημος ὑπέρεκειται μεγάλη, νομὰς δαψιλεῖς ἔχουσα, ἐκλειφθεῖσα δ' ὑπὸ πλήθους σκορπίων καὶ φαλαγγίων τῶν τετραγνάθων καλουμένων, ἐπιπολάσαντός ποτε καὶ ἀπεργασαμένου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φυγὴν παντελῆ.

13. Μετὰ δὲ Εὐμένους λιμένα μέχρι Δειρῆς<sup>7</sup> καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἑξ νήσους στενῶν Ἰχθυοφάγοι καὶ Κρεοφάγοι<sup>8</sup> κατοικοῦσι καὶ Κολοβοὶ μέχρι τῆς μεσογαίας. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θῆραι πλείους ἐλεφάντων καὶ πόλεις ἄσημοι καὶ νησία πρὸ τῆς παραλίας. νομάδες δ' οἱ πλείους, ὀλίγοι δ' οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Σιμοί, the editors, for Σίλλοι ; E has μοί written above, first hand.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀκρ.δοφάγοι is omitted by the MSS. but is added by first hand in margin of F.

<sup>3</sup> Here the MSS. have a lacuna of about ten letters.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπερπετώμεναι Dhi, ὑπερπετόμεναι E, ὑπερπετασθέντων z (first hand), ὑπερπετασθειςῶν mo and z (second hand).

<sup>5</sup> γάρ, omitted by moz.

<sup>6</sup> moz have εἴτα σκοτουμένων καὶ πιπτουσῶν.

The Aethiopians called "Simi" carry on war with these people; they use as weapons the horns of gazelles.

12. Neighbouring this people are the Acridophagi,<sup>1</sup> who are blacker than the rest and shorter in stature and the shortest-lived; for they rarely live beyond forty years, since their flesh is infested with parasites.<sup>2</sup> They live on locusts, which are driven into this region in the spring-time by strong-blowing south-west and western winds. They cast smoking timber in the ravines, lighting it slightly (and thus easily catch the locusts),<sup>3</sup> for when they fly above the smoke they are blinded and fall. The people pound them with salt, make them into cakes, and use them for food. Above these people lies a large uninhabited region, which has pastures in abundance. It was abandoned by reason of the multitude of scorpions and tarantulas, the tetragnathi,<sup>4</sup> as they are called; these once prevailed and caused a complete desertion by the inhabitants.

13. After the Harbour of Eumenes, as far as Deirê and the straits opposite the six islands,<sup>5</sup> the country is inhabited by the Ichthyophagi and the Creophagi and the Colobi,<sup>6</sup> who extend as far as the interior. In this region are several hunting-grounds for elephants, and insignificant cities, and islands lying off the coast. The greater part of the people

<sup>1</sup> Locust-eaters.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "wild creatures."

<sup>3</sup> This is obviously the meaning of certain Greek words lost from the MSS. (see critical note).

<sup>4</sup> i.e. four-jawed.

<sup>5</sup> 16. 4. 4.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. "Mutilated" people (see 16. 4. 5).

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<sup>7</sup> Δηρῆς E.

<sup>8</sup> Κρεοφάγοι CF, Κρεωφάγοι other MSS.

γεωργοῦντες· παρά τισι δὲ τούτων φύεται στύραξ οὐκ ὀλίγος. συνάγουσι δὲ ταῖς ἀμπώτισιν οἱ Ἴχθυοφάγοι τοὺς ἰχθῦς· ἐπιρρίψαντες δὲ ταῖς πέτραις κατοπτῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, εἴτ' ἐξοπτήσαντες τὰς ἀκάνθας μὲν σωρεύουσι, τὴν δὲ σάρκα πατήσαντες μάζας ποιοῦνται, πάλιν δὲ ταύτας ἠλιάζοντες σιτοῦνται· χειμῶνος δ' ἀδυνατήσαντες συνάγειν τοὺς ἰχθῦς, τὰς σεσωρευμένας ἀκάνθας κόψαντες μάζας ἀναπλάττονται καὶ χρῶνται, τὰς δὲ νεαράς ἐκμυζῶσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς κόγχας ἐχούσας τὴν σάρκα σιτεύουσι καταβάλλοντες εἰς χαράδρια καὶ συστάδας θαλάττης, εἴτ' ἰχθύδια παραρριπτοῦντες<sup>1</sup> τροφήν, αὐταῖς χρῶνται ἐν τῇ τῶν ἰχθύων σπάνει· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰχθυοτροφεῖα παντοῖα, ἀφ' ὧν ταμιεύονται. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν τὴν ἄνυδρον παραλίαν οἰκούντων διὰ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδρεϊα ἀναβαίνουσι πανοικὶ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ παιανισμοῦ, ρίφέντες δὲ πρηγεῖς πίνουσι βοῶν δίκην ἕως ἐκτυμπανώσεως τῆς γαστροῦς, εἴτ' ἀπίασιν ἐπὶ θάλατταν πάλιν· οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν σπηλαίοις ἢ μάνδραις στεγασταῖς ἀπὸ δοκῶν μὲν καὶ στρωτήρων τῶν κητείων ὀστέων καὶ ἀκανθῶν, φυλλάδος δ' ἐλατῆς.

14. Οἱ δὲ Χελωνοφάγοι τοῖς ὀστράκοις αὐτῶν σκεπάζονται μεγάλοις οὖσιν, ὥστε καὶ πλεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦ φύκου ἀποβεβλημένου πολλοῦ καὶ θίνας ὑψηλὰς καὶ λοφώδεις ποιοῦντος,

<sup>1</sup> παροπτῶντες CEFr (περιρριπτοῦντες, second hand in F).

<sup>2</sup> F reads πανοικειοῦ, Meineke πανοίκιοι.

<sup>1</sup> The "styrax" (or "storax") shrub, or tree, produces a sweet-smelling gum or resin used in frankincense.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. fish-ponds and the like.



are nomads; and those who till the soil are few in number. And in some parts of their country styrax<sup>1</sup> grows in no small quantities. The Ichthyophagi collect the fish at the ebb-tides, throw them upon the rocks, and bake them in the sun; and then, when they have thoroughly baked them, they pile up the bones, tread the flesh with their feet and make it into cakes; and again they bake these cakes and use them for food. But in stormy weather, when they are unable to collect the fish, they pound the bones which they have piled up and mould them into cakes and use them for food; and they suck the bones when fresh. But some, who have shell-fish, fatten them by throwing them down into gullies and pools of sea-water, and then, throwing in minnows as food for them, use them for food when there is a scarcity of fish. They also have all kinds of places for hatching and feeding fish,<sup>2</sup> from which they parcel them out. Some of the people who inhabit the part of the coast that is without water go inland every five days, families and all, with a shouting of pæans, to the water-reservoirs, throw themselves upon the ground face downwards, drink like cattle until their stomachs are filled out as tight as drums, and then return to the sea again. They live in caves, or in pens roofed over with beams and cross-beams, consisting of the bones of whales and small fish,<sup>3</sup> as also with olive branches.

14. The Chelonophagi<sup>4</sup> live under cover of turtle-shells, which are so large that they are used as boats; but some of these people, since the sea-weed is thrown ashore in great quantities and forms high and hill-like heaps, dig beneath these and dwell

\* Cf. 15. 2. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Turtle-eaters.

ὑπορύττοντες ταύτας ὑποικοῦσι. τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς  
 ῥίπτουσι τροφὴν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, ἀναλαμβάνομένους  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πλημμυρίδων. τῶν δὲ νήσων τινὲς  
 τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς κεῖνται, ἡ μὲν Χελωνῶν, ἡ δὲ Φωκῶν,  
 ἡ δ' Ἱεράκων λεγομένη· πᾶσα δ' ἡ παραλία  
 φοινικᾶς<sup>1</sup> τε ἔχει καὶ ἐλαιῶνας καὶ δαφνῶνας,  
 οὐχ ἡ ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς  
 ἐκτὸς πολλή. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ Φιλίππου νήσος,  
 καθ' ἣν ὑπέρκειται τὸ Πυθαγγέλου καλούμενον  
 τῶν ἐλεφάντων κυνήγιον· εἴτ' Ἀρσινόη πόλις καὶ  
 λιμήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ Δειρή· καὶ τούτων  
 ὑπέρκειται θήρα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 Δειρῆς ἡ ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν ἄρωματοφόρος, πρώτη μὲν  
 ἡ τὴν σμύρναν φέρουσα (καὶ αὕτη μὲν Ἰχθυοφά-  
 γων καὶ Κρεοφάγων), φύει δὲ καὶ περσέαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 συκάμινον Αἰγύπτιον· ὑπέρκειται δὲ ἡ Λίχα  
 θήρα τῶν ἐλεφάντων· πολλαχοῦ δ' εἰσὶ συστάδες  
 τῶν ὀμβρίων ὑδάτων, ὧν ἀναξηρανθεισῶν οἱ  
 ἐλέφαντες ταῖς προβοσκίσι καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσι  
 C 774 φρεωρυχοῦσι καὶ ἀνευρίσκουσιν ὕδωρ. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τοῦ<sup>3</sup> Πυθολαίου<sup>4</sup> ἀκρω-  
 τηρίου<sup>5</sup> δύο λίμναι εἰσὶν εὐμεγέθεις· ἡ μὲν ἄλμυ-  
 ροῦ ὕδατος, ἣν καλοῦσι θάλατταν, ἡ δὲ γλυκέος,  
 ἡ τρέφει καὶ ἵππους ποταμίους καὶ κροκοδείλους,  
 περὶ τὰ χεῖλη δὲ πάπυρον· ὀρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἴβεις  
 περὶ τὸν τόπον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ πλησίον τῆς  
 ἄκρας τῆς Πυθολαίου<sup>6</sup> τὰ σώματα ὀλόκληροί

<sup>1</sup> φοινικῶνας E.<sup>2</sup> τὰ D.<sup>3</sup> ἀκρωτήρια D<sup>h</sup>ixz.<sup>4</sup> περσέαν the editors, for περσαίαν.<sup>5</sup> Πιθολαίου xz.<sup>6</sup> Πιθολαίου D<sup>h</sup>xz.

under them. They throw out their dead as food for the fish, the bodies being caught up by the flood-tides. Some of the islands, three of them, follow in succession: Tortoise Island, Seal Island, and Hawk Island, as it is called; and the whole of the coast has palm-trees, olive groves, and laurel groves, not only the part inside the straits, but also most of the part outside. And there is also an island called Philip's Island, opposite which, above the coast, lies the hunting-ground for elephants called the Hunting-ground of Pythangelus. Then one comes to Arsinoë, a city and harbour; and, after these, to Deirê; and above these lies a hunting-ground for elephants. The next country after Deirê produces aromatics, the first that produces myrrh (this country belongs to the Ichthyophagi and Creophagi), and it also produces both perseæ<sup>1</sup> and the Aegyptian sycaminus.<sup>2</sup> Above this country lies a hunting-ground for elephants, called the Hunting-ground of Lichas. In many places there are pools of rain-water; and when these dry up, the elephants, with their trunks and tusks, dig wells and find water. On this coast, extending as far as the promontory of Pytholäus, there are two lakes of fair size, one of which has salt water and is called a sea, whereas the other has fresh water, supports both hippopotamus and crocodiles, and has papyrus round its edges; and the ibis is also to be seen in the neighbourhood of this place. Beginning with those who live near the promontory of Pytholäus, the people are wholly free from mutilation<sup>3</sup> of the body. After these, one

<sup>1</sup> A tree with such luscious fruit that Cambyses transplanted it to Persia (see Diodorus Siculus 1. 34).

<sup>2</sup> Mulberry tree.

<sup>3</sup> See 16. 4. 5, 9.

εἰσι· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἡ λιβανωτοφόρος· ἐνταῦθα ἄκρα ἐστὶ καὶ ἱερὸν αἰγειρῶνα ἔχον. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ποταμία τις Ἰσιδος λεγομένη καὶ ἄλλη τις Νεῖλος, ἄμφω καὶ σμύρναν καὶ λίβανον παραπεφυκοτα ἔχουσai. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δεξameνή τις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὕδασι πληρουμένη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λέοντος σκοπή<sup>1</sup> καὶ Πυθαγγέλου λιμὴν· ἡ δ' ἐξῆς ἔχει καὶ ψευδοκασσίαν.<sup>2</sup> συνεχῶς δ' εἰσὶ ποτάμιαί τε πλείους ἔχουσai λίβανον παραπεφυκότα καὶ ποταμοὶ μέχρι τῆς Κινναμομοφόρου· ὁ δ' ὀρίζων ταύτην ποταμὸς φέρει καὶ φλοῦν πάμπολυν· εἴτ' ἄλλος ποταμὸς καὶ Δαφνοῦς λιμὴν καὶ ποταμία Ἀπόλλωνος καλουμένη, ἔχουσα πρὸς τῷ λιβάνῳ καὶ σμύρναν καὶ κιννάμωμον· τοῦτο δὲ πλεονάζει<sup>3</sup> μᾶλλον περὶ τοὺς ἐν βάθει τόπους· εἴθ' ὁ Ἑλέφας τὸ ὄρος, ἐκκείμενον εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ διῶρυξ καὶ ἐφεξῆς Ψυγμοῦ<sup>4</sup> λιμὴν μέγας καὶ ὕδρευμα, τὸ Κυνοκεφάλων καλούμενον, καὶ τελευταῖον ἄκρωτήριον τῆς παραλίας ταύτης, τὸ Νότου κέρας. κάμψαντι δὲ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν οὐκέτι, φησὶν, ἔχομεν λιμένων ἀναγραφὰς οὐδὲ τόπων διὰ τὸ μηκέτι εἶναι γινώριμον, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς παραλίᾳ.

<sup>1</sup> Λέοντος σκοπή, Corais, for λεοντοσκόπη CDFh, λεοντοσκοπή E, Λέοντος κώπη s, Λέοντος κώμη Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> ψευδοκασσίαν F.

<sup>3</sup> πλεονάζει F (first hand in margin); πλέον ἀκμάζει other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> γυμνοῦ CDEFh<sup>ir</sup>; but ψυγμοῦ first hand in Fr.

comes to the country that bears frankincense; and here is a promontory and a temple that has a grove of poplars. In the interior lie the river-land of Isis, as it is called, and another river-land called Neilus, both of which produce both myrrh and frankincense along their banks. Here, too, there is a kind of reservoir which is filled by waters from the mountains; and after this one comes to the Lookout of Leon and the Harbour of Pythangelus; and the next country has, among other things, pseudo-cassia. And one comes to several river-lands in succession that produce frankincense along the rivers, and to rivers that extend as far as the cinnamon-bearing country; and the river which bounds this country produces also the flowering rush in very great quantities. Then to another river and to the Daphnus Harbour and to the River-land of Apollo, as it is called, which produces, in addition to frankincense, both myrrh and cinnamon; but the cinnamon is more abundant in the neighbourhood of the places that are deep in the interior. Then to Elephas,<sup>1</sup> the mountain, which juts out into the sea, and to a trench, and, next thereafter, to the large Harbour of Psygmus, and to a watering-place<sup>2</sup> called the Watering-place of the Cynocephali,<sup>3</sup> and to the last promontory of this coast, Notu-ceras.<sup>4</sup> After rounding this promontory approximately towards the south, we no longer, he says, have any record of harbours or places, because the promontory is not known from here on, and the same is true of the coast next after it.

<sup>1</sup> Elephant.

<sup>2</sup> A well, apparently.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the "Dog-headed" people.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Horn of the South.

15. Εἰσὶ δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ στήλαι καὶ βωμοὶ Πυθολάου καὶ Λίχα καὶ Πυθαγγέλου καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Χαριμόρτου κατὰ τὴν γνῶριμον παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Δειρῆς μέχρι Νότου κέρως, τὸ δὲ διάστημα οὐ γνῶριμον. πληθύνει δ' ἐλέφασιν ἡ χώρα καὶ λένουσι τοῖς καλουμένοις μύρμηξιν· ἀπεστραμμένα δ' ἔχουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς τὴν χροάν, ψιλότεροι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν· φέρει δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις ἀλκίμους καὶ ῥινοκέρωτας. οὗτοι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείπονται τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ ῥινοκέρωτες, οὐχ,<sup>2</sup> ὥσπερ Ἀρτεμίδωρός φησιν, ἐπὶ σειρὰν τῷ μήκει, καίπερ ἑωρακέναι φήσας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι ὅσον . . .<sup>3</sup> τῷ ὕψει, ἀπὸ γε τοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὁραθέντος· οὔτε πύξω τὸ χρώμα ἐμφερές, ἀλλ' ἐλέφαντι μᾶλλον μέγεθος δ' ἐστὶ ταύρου· μορφή δ' ἐγγυτάτω συάγρου, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν προτομήν, πλὴν τῆς ῥινός, ὅτι ἔστι κέρας σιμὸν στερεώτερον ὀστέου παντός· χρήται δ' ὄπλῳ, καθάπερ καὶ  
C 775 τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ὁ σύαγρος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τύλους δύο, ὡς ἂν σπείρας δρακόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ῥάχεως μέχρι τῆς γαστρὸς περικειμένης, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τῇ ὀσφύϊ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὁραθέντος ταῦτά φαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐκείνος δὲ προσδιασαφεῖ, διότι καὶ ἐλεφαντομάχον ἰδίως ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον περὶ τῆς νομῆς, ὑποδύνον τῇ προτομῇ καὶ ἀνακείμενον τὴν γαστέρα, ἐὰν μὴ προληφθῇ τῇ προβοσκίδι καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσι.

<sup>1</sup> δέ, Corais inserts.<sup>2</sup> οὐχ, Corais inserts.<sup>3</sup> Obviously some number of cubits (πῆχυς) or spans (σπιθαμή) has fallen out of the MSS.<sup>1</sup> See the description of "gold-mining ants" in 15. 1. 44.

15. One comes also to pillars and altars of Pytholäus and Lichas and Pythangelus and Leon and Charimortus along the known coast, extending from Deirê as far as Notu-ceras, but the distance is unknown. The country abounds in elephants, and also in lions called ants,<sup>1</sup> which have their genital organs reversed, and are golden in colour, but are less hairy than those in Arabia. It also produces fierce leopards and the rhinoceros. The latter, the rhinoceros, is but little short of the elephant in size, not, as Artemidorus says, "in length to the tail"<sup>2</sup> (although he says that he saw the animal at Alexandria), but falls short, I might almost say, only about . . . in height,<sup>3</sup> judging at least from the one I saw; nor does their colour resemble that of box-wood, but rather that of the elephant; and it is of the size of a bull; and its shape is most nearly like that of the wild boar, particularly in its foreparts, except its nose, which has a snub horn harder than any bone; and it uses its horn as a weapon, just as the wild boar uses its tusks; and it also has two hard welts extending round from its chine to its belly, like the coils of serpents, one of which is on its withers and the other on its loins. Now I am giving this description from the one I saw; but Artemidorus goes on to explain that the creature is especially inclined to fight with the elephant for places of pasture, thrusting its forehead under the elephant and ripping up its stomach, unless it is prevented from so doing by the proboscis and tusks of the elephant.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* from head to tail.

<sup>3</sup> The measure of the difference in height is missing from the manuscripts. Artemidorus must have given it in terms of either cubit or span (see critical note).

16. Γίνονται δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις καὶ αἱ καμηλοπαρδάλεις, οὐδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσαι παρδάλει· τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον τῆς χροᾶς νεβρίσι μᾶλλον ἔοικε ῥαβδωτοῖς σπίλοις κατεστιγμέναις· τελέως δὲ τὰ ὀπίσθια ταπεινότερα τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ἐστίν, ὥστε δοκεῖν συγκαθῆσθαι τῷ οὐραίῳ μέρει, τὸ ὕψος βοὸς ἔχοντι, τὰ δὲ ἐμπρόσθια σκέλη τῶν καμηλείων οὐ λείπεται· τράχηλος δ' εἰς ὕψος ἐξηρμένος ὀρθός, τὴν κορυφὴν δὲ πολὺ ὑπερπετεστέρα ἔχει τῆς καμήλου· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀσυμμετρίαν ταύτην οὐδὲ τάχος οἶμαι τοσοῦτον εἶναι περὶ τὸ ζῶον, ὅσον εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ἀνυπέρβλητον φήσας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θηρίον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ βόσκημα μᾶλλον· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἀγριότητα ἐμφαίνει. γίνονται δέ, φησί, καὶ σφίγγες καὶ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ κῆβοι λέοντος μὲν πρόσωπον ἔχοντες, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα πάνθηρος, μέγεθος δὲ δορκάδος· καὶ ταῦροι δ' εἰσὶν ἄγριοι καὶ σαρκοφάγοι, μεγέθει πολὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπερβεβλημένοι καὶ τάχει, πυρροὶ τὴν χροᾶν. κροκούττας δ' ἐστὶ μῖγμα λύκου καὶ κυνός, ὥς φησιν οὗτος. ἃ δ' ὁ Σκήψιος λέγει Μητρόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ συνηθείας βιβλίῳ μύθοις ἔοικε καὶ οὐ φροντιστέον αὐτῶν. καὶ δρακόντων δ' εἴρηκε μεγέθη τριάκοντα πηχῶν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐλέφαντας καὶ ταύρους χειρουμένων, μετριάσας ταύτη γε· οἱ γὰρ Ἰνδικοὶ μυθωδέστεροι καὶ οἱ Λιβυκοί, οἷς γε καὶ πόα ἐπιπεφυκέναι λέγεται.

17. Νομαδικὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ βίος τῶν Τρωγλο-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. camel-leopards.

<sup>2</sup> The *Papio sphinx*, a large baboon.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "Dog-heads" (the *Papio hamadryas*, a sacred baboon).

<sup>4</sup> The *Papio cebus* (also referred to in 17. 1. 40).



16. In this region, also, are found camelopards,<sup>1</sup> though they are in no respect like leopards; for the dappled marking of their skin is more like that of a fawn-skin, which latter is flecked with spots, and their hinder parts are so much lower than their front parts that they appear to be seated on their tail-parts, which have the height of an ox, although their forelegs are no shorter than those of camels; and their necks rise high and straight up, their heads reaching much higher up than those of camels. On account of this lack of symmetry the speed of the animal cannot, I think, be so great as stated by Artemidorus, who says that its speed is not to be surpassed. Furthermore, it is not a wild beast, but rather a domesticated animal, for it shows no signs of wildness. And in this country are also found, he says, sphinxes<sup>2</sup> and cynocephali<sup>3</sup> and cebi,<sup>4</sup> which last have the face of a lion, and a body otherwise like that of a panther and with the size of a gazelle. The country also has bulls that are wild, carnivorous, and far surpass those in our part of the world in size and speed; and their colour is red. The crocuttas<sup>5</sup> is a mixed progeny of wolf and dog, as Artemidorus says. But what Metrodorus of Scepsis says in his book on *Habits* is like a myth and should be disregarded. Artemidorus also speaks of serpents thirty cubits in length which overpower elephants and bulls; and his measurement is moderate, at least for serpents in this part of the world, for the Indian serpents are rather fabulous,<sup>6</sup> as also those in Libya, which are said to grow grass on their backs.<sup>7</sup>

17. Now the Troglodytes live a nomadic life; and

<sup>5</sup> Apparently a species of hyena.

<sup>6</sup> See 2. 1. 9 and 15. 1. 28.

<sup>7</sup> See 17. 3. 5.

δυτῶν, τυραννοῦνται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα, κοιναὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα πλὴν τοῖς τυράννοις, τῷ δὲ τὴν τυράννου φθείραντι πρόβατον ἢ ζημία ἐστί. στιβίζονται<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐπιμελῶς αἱ γυναῖκες, περίκεινται δὲ τοῖς τραχήλοις κογχία ἀντὶ βασκανίων. πολεμοῦσι δὲ περὶ τῆς νομῆς, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν διωθόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, εἴτα λίθοις, ὅταν δὲ τραῦμα γένηται, καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μαχαιρίσι· διαλύουσι δὲ γυναῖκες, εἰς μέσους προιοῦσαι καὶ δεήσεις προσενέγκασαι· τροφή δ' ἔκ τε σαρκῶν καὶ τῶν ὀστέων κοπτομένων ἀναμίξαι καὶ εἰς τὰς δορὰς ἐνειλουμένων,<sup>2</sup> εἴτ' ὀπτωμένων καὶ ἄλλως πολλαχῶς σκευαζομένων ὑπὸ τῶν C 776 μαγείρων, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἀκαθάρτους· ὥστε μὴ κρεοφαγεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀστοφαγεῖν καὶ δερματοφαγεῖν· χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τῷ αἵματι καὶ τῷ γάλακτι καταμίζαντες. ποτὸν δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀπόβρεγμα παλιούρου, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις μελίκρατον, ἀπ' ἄνθους τινὸς ἐκπιεζομένου τοῦ μέλιτος. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς χειμὼν μὲν, ἡνίκα οἱ ἐτησίαι πνέουσι (κατομβροῦνται γάρ), θέρος δ' ὁ λοιπὸς χρόνος. γυμνῆται δὲ καὶ δερματοφόροι καὶ σκυταληφόροι διατελοῦσιν· εἰσὶ δ' οὐ κολοβοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιτετμημένοι τινές, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι. οἱ δὲ Μεγαβάροι Αἰθίοπες τοῖς ῥοπάλοις καὶ τύλους προστιθέασι σιδηροῦς, χρῶνται δὲ καὶ λόγχαις καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὠμοβυσσίναις, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Αἰθίοπες τόξοις καὶ λόγχαις. θάπτουσι

<sup>1</sup> στιμμίζονται E.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνειλουμένων, Corais, for ἀνιλουμένων CF, ἀνειλουμένων other MSS.

their several tribes are ruled by tyrants; and both wives and children are held in common except those of the tyrants; and the fine for anyone who corrupts the wife of a tyrant consists of a sheep. The women paint their eyelids carefully with stibi;<sup>1</sup> and they wear shells for amulets round their necks. The Troglodytes go to war about pasturage, at first pushing their way through with their hands and then with stones, and also, when a wound is inflicted, with arrows and daggers; but the fighters are reconciled by the women, who advance into the midst of the combatants and ply them with entreaties. Their food consists of flesh and bones which are first chopped up together and wrapped in skins and then baked, or prepared in numerous other ways by the cooks (whom they call "unclean"), so that they not only eat the flesh, but also the bones and the skin; and they also use the blood mixed with milk. As for beverages, most of the people drink a brew of buckthorn,<sup>2</sup> but the tyrants drink a mixture of honey and water, the honey being pressed out of some kind of flower. They have winter when the Etesian winds blow (for they have rains); but the rest of the time is summer. They always go lightly clad, wear skins, and carry clubs; and they not only mutilate their bodies,<sup>3</sup> but some of them are also circumcised, like the Aegyptians. The Aethiopian Megabari have iron knobs on their clubs, and also use spears and shields made of raw-hide, but the rest of the Aethiopians use the bow and arrow and lances. Before burying their

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *stibium*, i.e. the sesquisulphide of antimony, a dark pigment.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhamnus paliurus*.

<sup>3</sup> See 16. 4. 5 and Diodorus Siculus 3. 32.

δέ τινες τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν, ῥάβδοις παλιουρίναις  
 δήσαντες τὸν αὐχένα τῶν νεκρῶν πρὸς τὰ σκέλη·  
 ἔπειτα εὐθύς καταλεύουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἰλαροί, γελῶντες  
 ἅμα, ἕως ἂν τοῦ σώματος τὴν ὄψιν ἀποκρύψωσιν·  
 εἴτ' ἐπιθέντες κέρας αἷγειον ἀπίασιν. ὁδοιποροῦσι  
 δὲ νύκτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἀρρένων θρεμμάτων κώδωνας  
 ἐξάψαντες, ὥστ' ἐξίστασθαι τὰ θηρία τῷ ψόφῳ·  
 καὶ λαμπάσι δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τόξοις ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία χρώνται,  
 καὶ διαγρυπνοῦσι δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων χάριν, ὥδῃ τινα  
 χρώμενοι πρὸς τῷ πυρί.

18. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν καὶ  
 τῶν προσχώρων Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Ἄραβας· καὶ πρώτους ἔπεισι τοὺς τὸν Ἀράβιον  
 κόλπον ἀφορίζοντας καὶ ἀντικειμένους τοῖς Τρωγ-  
 λοδύταις, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδίου. φησὶ  
 δὲ ἐνδοτέρῳ κεῖσθαι τοῦτο τοῦ Αἰλανίτου μυχοῦ·  
 συνεχῇ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδίου φοινικῶνα εἶναι εὐνδρον,  
 τιμᾶσθαι τε κομιδῇ διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ  
 καυματηράν τε καὶ ἄννδρον καὶ ἄσκιον ὑπάρχειν,  
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐκαρπίαν τῶν φοινίκων εἶναι  
 θαυμαστήν· προεστήκασι δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ἀνὴρ καὶ  
 γυνή, διὰ γένους ἀποδεδειγμένοι, δερματοφόροι,  
 τροφὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων ἔχοντες. κοιτάζονται  
 δ' ἐπὶ δένδρων καλυβοποιησάμενοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
 τῶν θηρίων. εἴθ' ἐξῆς ἐστὶ νῆσος Φωκῶν, ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν θηρίων τούτων ὠνομασμένη.  
 πλησίον δ' αὐτῆς ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ διατείνει πρὸς  
 τὴν Πέτραν τὴν τῶν Ναβαταίων καλουμένων

<sup>1</sup> καταλεύουσιν, Tzschucke, for καταλέγουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> δέ Eoz, τε other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> So Diodorus Siculus (3. 33).

dead, some of the Troglodytes bind the neck of the corpses to the legs with twigs of the buckthorn, and then immediately, with merriment and laughter,<sup>1</sup> throw stones upon them until the body is hidden from sight; and then they place a ram's horn on the barrow and go away. They travel by night, first fastening bells to the male cattle, so as to drive away the wild beasts with the noise; and they also use torches and bows to repel the wild beasts; and, for the sake of their flocks, they also keep watch during the night, singing a kind of song near the fire.

18. After saying all this about the Troglodytes and the neighbouring Aethiopians, Artemidorus returns to the Arabians; and first, beginning at Poseidium, he describes the Arabians who border on the Arabian Gulf and live opposite the Troglodytes. He says that Poseidium lies farther in than the Aelanites Gulf; and that contiguous to Poseidium there is a grove of palm trees, which is well supplied with water and is highly valued because all the country around is hot and waterless and shadeless; and that here the fertility of the palms is wonderful; and that a man and a woman have charge of the grove, being appointed to that charge through hereditary right. They wear skins, and live on dates from the palm trees; but on account of the number of wild beasts they build huts in trees and sleep there. Then, next, one comes to the Island of Phocae,<sup>2</sup> which was so named from the number of seals there. Near the island is a promontory, which extends to the Rock of the Nabataean Arabians, as they are called, and

<sup>2</sup> Seals.

Ἀράβων καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην χώραν, εἰς ἣν Μιναῖοί τε καὶ Γερραῖοι καὶ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι τὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων φορτία κομίζουσιν. εἴτ' ἄλλη παραλία, πρότερον μὲν Μαρανιτῶν καλουμένη, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἦσαν γεωργοί, τινὲς δὲ σκηνῖται, C 777 νῦν δὲ Γαρινδαίων, ἀνελόντων ἐκείνους δόλω· ἐπέθεντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς, πενταετηρικὴν τινα πανήγυριν ἐπιτελοῦσι, καὶ τούτους τε διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπελθόντες ἄρδην διελυμήναντο. εἴθ' ὁ Αἰλανίτης<sup>1</sup> κόλπος καὶ ἡ Ναβαταία, πολὺ-ανδρος οὖσα<sup>2</sup> χώρα καὶ εὖβοτος· οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ νήσους προκειμένας πλησίον· οἱ πρότερον μὲν καθ' ἥσυχίαν ἦσαν, ὕστερον δὲ σχεδίαις ἐληίζοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πλέοντας· δίκας δ' ἔτισαν, ἐπελθόντος στόλου καὶ ἐκπορθήσαντος αὐτούς. ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶ πεδίον εὐδεινδρόν τε καὶ εὐυδρον καὶ<sup>3</sup> βοσκημάτων παντοίων μεστόν, ἄλλων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων· καὶ καμήλων ἀγρίων<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων πλήθος ἐν αὐτῷ, λέοντές τε καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ λύκοι συχνοί. πρόκειται δὲ νῆσος καλουμένη Δία· εἴτα κόλπος ὅσον πεντακοσίων σταδίων, ὄρεσι περικλειόμενος καὶ δυσεισβόλῳ στόματι· περιοικοῦσι δὲ θηρευτικοὶ ἄνδρες τῶν χερσαίων ἀγρευμάτων. εἴτ' ἔρημοι τρεῖς νῆσοι πλήρεις ἐλαιῶν, οὐ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντοπίων, ἃς καλοῦμεν Αἰθιοπικάς, ὧν τὸ δάκρυον καὶ ἰατρικῆς δυνάμεώς ἐστιν. ἐφεξῆς δ' ἐστὶν

<sup>1</sup> Αἰλανίτης E, Ἑλανίτης other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ, before χώρα, *moz* omit.

<sup>3</sup> καί, after εὐυδρον, *Dh* omit.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. read ἡμιόνων ἀγρίων καὶ καμήλων. Kramer, citing Diodorus Siculus 3. 42, transposes ἀγρίων as above.

to the Palaestine country, whither Minaeans and Gerrhaeans and all the neighbouring peoples convey their loads of aromatics. Then one comes to another coast, which was formerly called the coast of the Maranitae, some of whom were farmers and others tent-dwellers, but is now called the coast of the Garindaeans, who destroyed the Maranitae by treachery; for the Garindaeans attacked them while they were celebrating some quadrennial festival, and not only destroyed all the people at the festival but also overran and exterminated the rest of the tribe. Then to the Aelanites Gulf, and to Nabataea, a country with a large population and well supplied with pasturage. They also dwell on islands situated off the coast near by; and these Nabataeans formerly lived a peaceful life, but later, by means of rafts, went to plundering the vessels of people sailing from Aegypt. But they paid the penalty when a fleet went over and sacked their country. One comes next to a plain which is well supplied with trees and water and is full of all kinds of domestic animals—mules among others; and it has a multitude of wild camels, deer, and gazelles, as also numerous lions, leopards, and wolves.<sup>1</sup> Off this plain lies an island called Dia. Then one comes to a gulf about five hundred stadia in extent, which is enclosed all round by mountains and a mouth that is difficult to enter; and round it live men who hunt the land animals. Then to three uninhabited islands, full of olive trees, not the kind in our country, but the indigenous kind, called Aethiopic, the sap of which has medicinal power. Next in order one comes to a stony beach,

<sup>1</sup> Jackals, perhaps.

αἰγιαλὸς λιθώδης, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τραχεῖα καὶ  
 δυσπαράπλευστος ὅσον χιλίων σταδίων παραλία  
 σπίνει λιμένων καὶ ἀγκυροβολίων· ὄρος γὰρ  
 παρατείνει τραχὺ καὶ ὑψηλόν· εἴθ' ὑπώρειαι  
 σπιλαδῶδεις<sup>1</sup> μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης, τοῖς ἐτησίαις  
 μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς τότε ἐπομβρίαις ἀβοήθητον  
 παρέχουσαι τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶ κόλπος  
 νήσους ἔχων σποράδας, καὶ συνεχῶς<sup>2</sup> θῖνες ψάμ-  
 μου μελαίνης τρεῖς ἄγαν ὑψηλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτους  
 Χαρμόθας<sup>3</sup> λιμὴν ὅσον σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἑκατόν,  
 στενὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἔχων τὸν εἰσπλουν παντὶ  
 σκάφει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς εἰς αὐτόν· ἐν μέσῳ  
 δὲ νῆσος εὐδενδρος καὶ γεωργήσιμος. εἴτ' ἐστὶ  
 παραλία τραχεῖα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην κόλποι τινὲς  
 καὶ χώρα Νομάδων ἀπὸ καμήλων ἐχόντων τὸν  
 βίον· καὶ γὰρ πολεμοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὀδεύουσι  
 καὶ τρέφονται τῷ τε γάλακτι χρώμενοι καὶ ταῖς  
 σαρξί. ῥεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς δι' αὐτῶν ψήγμα χρυσοῦ  
 καταφέρων, οὐκ ἴσασι δ' αὐτὸ κατεργάζεσθαι·  
 καλοῦνται δὲ Δέβαι, οἱ μὲν νομάδες, οἱ δὲ καὶ  
 γεωργοί. οὐ λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ  
 πολλὰ<sup>4</sup> διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ ἅμα ἀτοπίαν τῆς  
 ἐκφορᾶς αὐτῶν. ἐχόμενοι δ' εἰσὶν ἡμερώτεροι  
 τούτων ἄνδρες, εὐκρατοτέραν οἰκοῦντες γῆν· καὶ  
 γὰρ εὐνδρός<sup>5</sup> ἐστὶ καὶ εὐομβρος· χρυσός τε  
 C 778 ὀρυκτὸς γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐ ψήγματος, ἀλλὰ  
 βωλαρίων χρυσοῦ καθάρσεως οὐ πολλῆς δεομέ-

<sup>1</sup> σπηλαιώδεις μοxz, Tzschucke, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> συνεχεῖς CEx.

<sup>3</sup> E reads Χαρμόθας, F Χαρμοθᾶς.

<sup>4</sup> πολλά, Meineke, for παλαιά. Letronne conj. ἄλλα, Kramer πλείω.



and after that to a stretch of coast about one thousand stadia in length which is rugged and difficult for vessels to pass, for lack of harbours and anchoring-places, since a rugged and lofty mountain stretches along it. Then one comes to foot-hills, which are rocky and extend to the sea; and these, especially at the time of the Etesian winds and the rains, present to sailors a danger that is beyond all help. Next is a gulf with scattered islands; and continuous with the gulf are three exceedingly high banks of black sand; and after these lies Charmothas Harbour, about one hundred stadia in circuit, with an entrance that is narrow and dangerous for all kinds of boats. A river flows into it; and there is an island in the middle of it which is well supplied with trees and fit for tillage. Then one comes to a rugged stretch of coast; and after that to certain gulfs and to a country of nomads who get their livelihood from camels; for they carry on war from the backs of camels, travel upon them, and subsist upon their milk and flesh. A river flows through their country that brings down gold-dust, but the inhabitants do not know how to work it. They are called Debae; and some of them are nomads, whereas others are also farmers. I am not giving most of the names of the tribes because of their insignificance and at the same time because of the oddity of the pronunciations. Next to the Debae are men more civilised than they; and the country these live in has a more temperate climate; for it is well watered, and well supplied with rains. Gold obtained by digging is found in their country—not gold-dust, but gold nuggets, which do not require much purification; the smallest nuggets

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<sup>5</sup> *Dhi* read εὑδενδρος instead of εὔδρος.

νων,<sup>1</sup> μέγεθος δ' ἐχόντων ἐλάχιστον μὲν πυρῆνος, μέσον δὲ μεσπίλου, μέγιστον δὲ καρύου· τρήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐναλλάξ λίθοις διαφανέσιν ὄρμους ποιοῦνται διείροντες λίνον,<sup>2</sup> περιτίθενται δὲ περὶ τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ καρπούς· πωλοῦσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας εὖωνον τὸν χρυσόν, τριπλάσιον ἀντιδιδόντες<sup>3</sup> τοῦ χαλκοῦ, διπλάσιον δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου διὰ τε τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀντιλαμβανομένων, ὧν ἡ χρεία πρὸς τοὺς βίους ἀναγκαιοτέρα.

19. Συνάπτει δ' ἡ τῶν Σαβαίων εὐδαιμονεστάτη, μεγίστου ἔθνους, παρ' οἷς καὶ σμύρνα καὶ λίβανος καὶ κιννάμωμον· ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλία καὶ βάλσαμον καὶ ἄλλη τις πόα σφόδρα εὐώδης, ταχὺ δ' ἐξίτηλον τὴν ὁδὸν ἔχουσα· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ φοίνικες εὐώδεις καὶ κύλαμος, ὅφεις δὲ σπιθαμιαῖοι, φοινικοὶ τὴν χροάν, προσαλλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι λαγόνος, τὸ δῆγμα ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστον. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν καρπῶν ἀργοὶ καὶ ῥάθυμοι τοῖς βίοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. κοιτάζονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥίζων τῶν δένδρων ἐκτέμνοντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ δημοτικοί.<sup>4</sup> διαδεχόμενοι δ' οἱ σύνεγγυς αἰεὶ τὰ φορτία, τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παραδιδόασιν μέχρι Συρίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας· καρούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν εὐωδιῶν, αἴρουνσι

<sup>1</sup> δεομένων *ux*, δεομένου other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> λίνφ. *E*.

<sup>3</sup> ἀντιδίδοντες *Ex*, ἀντιδόντες other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> The words οἱ . . . δημοτικοί are omitted by *moz*.

have the size of a fruit-stone, the medium that of a medlar, and the largest that of a walnut. They make collars with these nuggets, perforating them and stringing them alternately with transparent stones by means of thread; and they wear them round their necks and wrists. They also sell the gold at a cheap price to their neighbours, giving it in exchange for three times the quantity of brass and double the quantity of silver, because of their lack of experience in working gold and because of the scarcity of the things received in exchange, which are more important for the necessities of life.

19. Bordering upon these people is the very fertile country of the Sabaeans, a very large tribe, in whose country myrrh and frankincense and cinnamon are produced; and on the coast is found balsam, as also another kind of herb of very fragrant smell, which quickly loses its fragrance. There are also sweet-smelling palms, and reeds; and serpents a span in length, which are dark-red in colour, can leap even as far as a hare, and inflict an incurable bite. On account of the abundance of fruits the people are lazy and easy-going in their modes of life. Most of the populace sleep on the roots of trees which they have cut out of the ground.<sup>1</sup> Those who live close to one another receive in continuous succession the loads of aromatics and deliver them to their next neighbours, as far as Syria and Mesopotamia; and when they are made drowsy by the sweet odours they overcome the drowsiness by inhaling

<sup>1</sup> Surely a strange sort of bed—if the Greek text is correct. In 16. 4. 18, Strabo says that the Arabians, “on account of the number of wild beasts, build huts in trees and sleep there.”

τὸν κάρον ἀσφάλτου θυμιάματι καὶ τράγου πώγωνος. ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Σαβαίων, ἡ Μαρίαβα,<sup>1</sup> κεῖται μὲν ἐπ' ὄρους εὐδένδρου, βασιλέα δ' ἔχει κύριον τῶν κρίσεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἐκ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων<sup>2</sup> οὐ θέμις ἐξιέναι,<sup>3</sup> ἢ καταλεύουσιν<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα οἱ ὄχλοι κατὰ τι λόγιον· ἐν χλιδῇ δ' ἐστὶ γυναικεία καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν· τὰ δὲ πλήθη τὰ μὲν γεωργεῖ, τὰ δ' ἐμπορεύεται τὰ ἀρώματα τὰ τε ἐπιχώρια καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, πλείοντες ἐπ' αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν στενῶν δερματίνοισι πλοίοις· τοσαῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πλήθος, ὥστ' ἀντὶ φρυγάνων καὶ τῆς καυσίμου ὕλης χρῆσθαι κινναμώμῳ καὶ κασσία<sup>5</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. γίνεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Σαβαίοις καὶ τὸ λάριμνον, εὐωδέστατον θυμίαμα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας οὗτοί τε καὶ Γερραῖοι πλουσιώτατοι πάντων εἰσίν, ἔχουσί τε παμπληθῇ κατασκευὴν χρυσωμάτων τε καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων, κλινῶν τε καὶ τριπόδων καὶ κρατήρων σὺν ἐκπώμασι καὶ τῇ τῶν οἰκῶν πολυτελείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ θυρώματα καὶ τοῖχοι καὶ ὀροφαὶ δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου λιθοκολλήτου τυγχάνει διαπεποικιλμένα. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων εἴρηκε, τὰλλα δὲ τὰ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ Ἑρατοσθένει λέγει· τὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱστορικῶν παρατίθησι.

C 779 20. Ἐρυθρὰν γὰρ λέγειν τινὰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ τῆς χροιάς τῆς ἐμφαινομένης κατ' ἀνάκλασιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος εἴτε ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Μαρίαβα, Tzschucke, for Μερίαβα CF *μουχζ*, Μεριάβα E, Μέρια Dhi.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλείων, the editors, instead of ἄλλων βασιλέων.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξιέναι, Kramer, for ἐξεῖναι.

the incense of asphalt and goats' beard. The city of the Sabaeans, Mariaba, is situated upon a well-wooded mountain; and it has a king who is authority in lawsuits and everything else; but it is not lawful for him to leave the palace, or, if he does, the rabble, in accordance with some oracle, stone him to death on the spot. Both he himself and those about him live in effeminate luxury; but the masses engage partly in farming and partly in the traffic in aromatics, both the local kinds and those from Aethiopia; to get the latter they sail across the straits in leathern boats. They have these aromatics in such abundance that they use cinnamon and cassia and the others instead of sticks and firewood. In the country of the Sabaeans is also found larimnum, a most fragrant incense. From their trafficking both the Sabaeans and the Gerrhaeans have become richest of all; and they have a vast equipment of both gold and silver articles, such as couches and tripods and bowls, together with drinking-vessels and very costly houses; for doors and walls and ceilings are variegated with ivory and gold and silver set with precious stones. This is Artemidorus' account of these peoples, but the rest of his statements are partly similar to those of Eratosthenes and partly quoted from the other historians.

20. For example, he says that some writers call the sea "Erythra" <sup>1</sup> from the colour it presents as the result of reflection, whether from the rays of the sun when it is in the zenith, or from the mountains,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Erythraean (Red) sea.

<sup>4</sup> καταλεύουσιν, Leopardi, for καταλύουσιν.

<sup>6</sup> κασίq Dhz.

τῶν ὀρώων ἐρυθραινομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαύσεως.<sup>1</sup> ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ εἰκάζειν.<sup>2</sup> Κτησίαν δὲ τὸν Κνίδιον πηγὴν ἱστορεῖν ἐκδιδοῦσαν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐρευθὲς καὶ μιλτῶδες ὕδωρ. Ἀγαθαρχίδην δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου πολίτην παρὰ τινος Βόξου,<sup>3</sup> Πέρσου<sup>4</sup> τὸ γένος, ἱστορῆσαι, διότι Πέρσης τις Ἐρύθρας, ἵπποφορβίου τινὸς ὑπὸ λεαίνης οὔστρῳ κατασχομένης<sup>5</sup> ἐξελαθέντος μέχρι θαλάττης κάκειθεν εἰς νῆσόν τινα διάραντος, σχεδίαν πηξάμενος πρῶτος περαιωθεῖη πρὸς τὴν νῆσον· ἰδὼν δὲ καλῶς οἰκήσιμον, τὴν μὲν ἀγέλην εἰς τὴν Περσίδα ἀπαγάγοι πάλιν, ἀποίκους δ' ἐκεῖ στείλαι τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους καὶ τὴν παραλίαν, ἐπώνυμον δὲ ποιήσειεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πέλαγος. τοὺς δὲ Περσέως υἱὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν Ἐρύθραν, ἡγήσασθαι τε τῶν τόπων. λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν στενῶν τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου μέχρι τῆς κινναμωμοφόρου τῆς ἐσχάτης πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων, οὐκ εὐκρινῶς, εἴτ' ἐπὶ νότον εἴτ'<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ διότι ὁ σμίραγδος καὶ ὁ βήρυλλος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ χρυσίου μετάλλοις ἐγγίνεται. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλες εὐώδεις ἐν Ἀραψιν, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος.

21. Πρῶτοι δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας Ναβαταῖοι καὶ Σαβαῖοι τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν νέμονται καὶ πολλάκις κατέτρεχον αὐτῆς, πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι· νῦν δὲ κάκεινοι Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν ὑπήκοοι καὶ Σύροι. μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐστὶν

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἀποκαύσεως, x reads ἐκκαύσεως, Eustathius (*Ad. Dionys.* 31) καύσεως, Corais ἐπικαύσεως.

<sup>2</sup> εἰκάζει μοι; so Corais.

<sup>3</sup> Βόξου Dh, Ἐδόσου C and marg. F.

<sup>4</sup> Πέρσου, Casaubon inserts.

<sup>5</sup> κατασχομένης μοι, κατασχομένου other MSS.

which have been reddened by the scorching heat; for, he continues, conjecture runs both ways about the cause; but Ctesias the Cnidian reports a spring, consisting of red and ochre-coloured water, as emptying into the sea; and Agatharcides, a fellow-citizen of Ctesias, reports from a certain Boxus, of Persian descent, that when a herd of horses had been driven out of the country by a passion-frenzied lioness as far as the sea and from there the herd had crossed over to a certain island, a certain Persian, Erythras by name, built a raft and was the first man to cross to the island; and that when he saw that it was beautifully adapted to habitation, he drove the herd back to Persis, sent forth colonists to that island and to the others and to the coast, and caused the sea to be named after himself; but other writers, he says, declare that Erythras was the son of Perseus, and that he ruled over this region. Some writers say that the distance from the straits of the Arabian Gulf to the extremity of the cinnamon-bearing country is five thousand stadia, without distinguishing clearly whether they mean towards the south or towards the east. It is said also that the emerald and the beryl are found in the gold mines. And there are also fragrant salts in the country of the Arabians, as Poseidonius says.

21. The first people above Syria who dwell in Arabia Felix are the Nabataeans and the Sabaeans. They often overran Syria before they became subject to the Romans; but at present both they and the Syrians are subject to the Romans. The metropolis of the Nabataeans is Petra,<sup>1</sup> as it is

<sup>1</sup> Rock.

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<sup>6</sup> εἴτ' . . . εἴτ' E, οὐτ' . . . οὐτ' other MSS.

ἡ Πέτρα καλουμένη· κείται γὰρ ἐπὶ χωρίου τᾶλλα ὀμαλοῦ καὶ ἐπιπέδου, κύκλῳ δὲ πέτρα φρουρουμένου, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ἀποκρήμνου καὶ ἀποτόμου, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους ἔχοντος εἷς τε ὑδρεῖαν καὶ κηπεῖαν. ἔξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἢ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἢ πρὸς Ἰουδαίᾳ· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ ἐστὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν εἰς Ἰερικοῦντα,<sup>1</sup> εἰς δὲ τὸν φοινικῶνα πέντε. βασιλεύεται μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τινος αἰὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔχει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐταίρων τινά, καλούμενον ἀδελφόν· σφόδρα δ' εὐνομεῖται. γενόμενος γοῦν παρὰ τοῖς Πετραίοις<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηνόδωρος, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἡμῖν ἐταῖρος, διηγέιτο θαυμάζων· εὐρεῖν γὰρ ἐπιδημοῦντας ἔφη πολλοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων· τοὺς μὲν οὖν ξένους ὁρᾶν κρινομένους πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οὐδένας ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν εἰρήνην ἄγοντας πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

C 780 22. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας στρατεία νεωστὶ γενηθεῖσα ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὧν ἡγεμὼν ἦν Αἴλιος Γάλλος, διδάσκει τῶν τῆς χώρας ἰδιωμάτων. τοῦτον δ' ἔπεμψεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ διαπειρασόμενον τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων τούτων τε καὶ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ὁρῶν<sup>3</sup> τὴν τε Τρωγλοδυτικὴν τὴν προσεχὴ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γειτονεύουσαν τούτοις, καὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον

<sup>1</sup> Ἰερικοῦντα E (with χ above κ), Ἐρικοῦντα CDFh<sup>w</sup>, Ἰερικοῦντα *moz*.

<sup>2</sup> πετραίοις marg. i, πετρίοις EFz, πατρίοις other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὁρῶν F, ὁρῶν other MSS.



called; for it lies on a site which is otherwise smooth and level, but it is fortified all round by a rock, the outside parts of the site being precipitous and sheer, and the inside parts having springs in abundance, both for domestic purposes and for watering gardens. Outside the circuit of the rock most of the territory is desert, in particular that towards Judaea. Here, too, is the shortest road to Hiericus,<sup>1</sup> a journey of three or four days, as also to the grove of palm trees,<sup>2</sup> a journey of five days. Petra is always ruled by some king from the royal family; and the king has as Administrator one of his companions, who is called "brother." It is exceedingly well-governed; at any rate, Athenodorus, a philosopher and companion of mine, who had been in the city of the Petraeans, used to describe their government with admiration, for he said that he found both many Romans and many other foreigners sojourning there, and that he saw that the foreigners often engaged in lawsuits, both with one another and with the natives, but that none of the natives prosecuted one another, and that they in every way kept peace with one another.

22. Many of the special characteristics of Arabia have been disclosed by the recent expedition of the Romans against the Arabians, which was made in my own time under Aelius Gallus as commander. He was sent by Augustus Caesar to explore the tribes and the places, not only in Arabia, but also in Aethiopia, since Caesar saw that the Troglodyte country which adjoins Aegypt neighbours upon Arabia, and also that the Arabian Gulf, which

<sup>1</sup> Jericho.

<sup>2</sup> See 16. 4. 18.

στενὸν ὄντα τελέως τὸν διείργοντα ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν τοὺς Ἄραβας· προσοικειοῦσθαι δὴ διενεόθη τούτους ἢ καταστρέφεσθαι. ἦν δέ τι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ πολυχρημάτων ἀκούειν ἐκ παντὸς χρόνου, πρὸς ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν τὰ ἀρώματα διατιθεμένους καὶ τὴν πολυτελεστάτην λιθίαν,<sup>2</sup> ἀναλίσκοντας τῶν λαμβανομένων τοῖς ἔξω μηδέν· ἢ γὰρ φίλοις ἤλπιζε πλουσίοις χρήσεσθαι<sup>3</sup> ἢ ἐχθρῶν κρατήσειν πλουσίων. ἐπῆρε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐλπίς, φίλων ὄντων καὶ συμπράξειν ἅπανθ' ὑπισχνουμένων.

23. Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν ἔστειλε τὴν στρατείαν ὁ Γάλλος· ἐξηπάτησε δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐπίτροπος Συλλαῖος, ὑποσχόμενος μὲν ἡγήσεσθαι<sup>4</sup> τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ χορηγήσειν ἅπαντα καὶ συμπράξειν, ἅπαντα δ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς πράξας, καὶ οὔτε παράπλουν ἀσφαλῆ μηνύων, οὔθ' ὁδόν, ἀλλὰ ἀνοδίαις καὶ κυκλοπορίαις καὶ πάντων ἀπόροις χωρίοις, ἢ ῥαχίαις ἀλιμένοις παραβάλλων ἢ χοιράδων ὑφάλων μεσταῖς ἢ τεναγώδεσι· πλείστον δὲ αἱ πλημμυρίδες ἐλύπουν, ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ ταῦτα χωρίοις, καὶ αἱ ἀμπώτεις. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦθ' ἀμάρτημα συνέβη τὸ μακρὰ κατασκευάσασθαι πλοῖα, μηδενὸς ὄντος μηδ' ἐσομένου κατὰ θάλατταν πολέμου. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ γῆν σφόδρα πολεμισταὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ κάπηλοι μᾶλλον οἱ Ἄραβες καὶ ἐμπορικοί, μήτι γε κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον ὀγδοήκοντα ἐναυπηγήσατο δίκροτα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Instead of δέ τι, CDFh read δ' ἔτι.

<sup>2</sup> λιθείαν Eoxz.

<sup>3</sup> χρήσεσθαι E, χρήσασθαι other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἡγήσεσθαι, Corais, for ἡγήσασθαι.

separates the Arabians from the Troglodytes, is extremely narrow. Accordingly he conceived the purpose of winning the Arabians over to himself or of subjugating them. Another consideration was the report, which had prevailed from all time, that they were very wealthy, and that they sold aromatics and the most valuable stones for gold and silver, but never expended with outsiders any part of what they received in exchange; for he expected either to deal with wealthy friends or to master wealthy enemies. He was encouraged also by the expectation of assistance from the Nabataeans, since they were friendly and promised to co-operate with him in every way.

23. Upon these considerations, therefore, Gallus set out on the expedition; but he was deceived by the Nabataean Administrator, Syllaëus, who, although he had promised to be guide on the march and to supply all needs and to co-operate with him, acted treacherously in all things, and pointed out neither a safe voyage along the coast nor a safe journey by land, misguiding him through places that had no roads and by circuitous routes and through regions destitute of everything, or along rocky shores that had no harbours or through waters that were shallow or full of submarine rocks; and particularly in places of that kind the flood-tides, as also the ebb-tides, caused very great distress. Now this was the first mistake of Gallus, to build long boats, since there was no naval war at hand, or even to be expected; for the Arabians are not very good warriors even on land, rather being hucksters and merchants, to say nothing of fighting at sea. But Gallus built not less than eighty boats, biremes and

τριήρεις καὶ φασήλους κατὰ Κλεοπατρίδα τὴν πρὸς τῇ παλαιᾷ διώρυγι τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου. γνούς δὲ διεψευσμένος ἐναυπηγήσατο σκευαγωγὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα, οἷς ἔπλευσεν ἔχων περὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Ναβαταῖοι δὲ χίλιοι μετὰ τοῦ Συλλαίου. πολλὰ δὲ παθὼν καὶ τालαιπωρηθεὶς πεντεκαϊδεκαταῖος ἦκεν εἰς Λευκὴν κώμην τῆς Ναβαταίων γῆς, ἐμπόριον μέγα, πολλὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀποβαλὼν, ὧν ἔνια καὶ αὐτανδρα ὑπὸ δυσπλοίας. πολεμίου δ' οὐδενός· τοῦτο δ' ἀπειργάσατο ἡ τοῦ Συλλαίου κακία τοῦ μεζῆ φήσαντος ἀνόδευτα εἶναι στρατοπέδοις εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν κώμην, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐξ ἧς οἱ καμηλέμποροι τοσοῦτῳ πλήθει ἀνδρῶν καὶ καμήλων ὀδεύουσιν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐπόρως εἰς Πέτραν καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐκ Πέτρας, ὥστε μὴ διαφέρειν μηδὲν στρατοπέδου.

24. Συνέβαινε δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως τοῦ Ὀβόδα μὴ πολὺ φροντίζοντος τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον (κοινὸν δὲ τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀράβων βασιλεῦσιν), ἅπαντα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου ποιουμένου ἐξουσίᾳ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Συλλαίου· τούτου δ' ἅπαντα δόλῳ στρατηγούντος καὶ ζητούντος, ὥς οἶμαι, κατοπτεῦσαι μὲν τὴν χώραν καὶ συνεξελεῖν τινὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, αὐτὸν δὲ καταστήναι κύριον ἀπάντων, ἀφανισθέντων ἐκείνων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κόπου καὶ νόσων καὶ ἄλλων, ὅσων δόλῳ παρεσκεύασεν ἐκεῖνος. εἰς γοῦν τὴν Λευκὴν κώμην

<sup>1</sup> καί, before ἐκ, Casaubon inserts.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξουσία omitted by MSS. except *moz*.

triremes and light boats, at Cleopatris,<sup>1</sup> which is near the old canal which extends<sup>2</sup> from the Nile. But when he realised that he had been thoroughly deceived, he built one hundred and thirty vessels of burden, on which he set sail with about ten thousand infantry, consisting of Romans in Aegypt, as also of Roman allies, among whom were five hundred Jews and one thousand Nabataeans under Syllaëus. After many experiences and hardships he arrived in fourteen days at Leucê Comê<sup>3</sup> in the land of the Nabataeans, a large emporium, although he had lost many of his boats, some of these being lost, crews and all, on account of difficult sailing, but not on account of any enemy. This was caused by the treachery of Syllaëus, who said that there was no way for an army to go to Leucê Comê by land; and yet camel-traders travel back and forth from Petra to this place in safety and ease, and in such numbers of men and camels that they differ in no respect from an army.

24. This came to pass because Obodas, the king, did not care much about public affairs, and particularly military affairs (this is a trait common to all the Arabian kings), and because he put everything in the power of Syllaëus; and because Syllaëus treacherously out-generalled Gallus in every way, and sought, as I think, to spy out the country and, along with the Romans, to destroy some of its cities and tribes, and then to establish himself lord of all, after the Romans were wiped out by hunger and fatigue and diseases and any other evils which he had treacherously contrived for them. However, Gallus put in at Leucê Comê, his army now being

<sup>1</sup> Also called Arsinoê (Suez); see 17. 1. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* to the gulf.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* "White Village."

κατήρεν, ἤδη στομακάκκη τε καὶ σκελοτύρβη<sup>1</sup> πειραζομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐπιχωρίοις πάθεσι, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ στόμα, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ σκέλη παράλυσιν τινα δηλούντων ἔκ τε τῶν ὑδρείων καὶ βοτανῶν. ἠναγκάσθη γοῦν τό τε θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διατελέσαι αὐτόθι, τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνακτώμενος. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Λευκῆς κώμης εἰς Πέτραν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Ῥινοκόλoura<sup>2</sup> τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ Φοινίκης τὰ φορτία κομίζεται, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ πλεον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῷ Νείλῳ· κατάγεται δ'<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς Μυὸς ὄρμον· εἴθ' ὑπέρθεσις<sup>4</sup> εἰς Κοπτὸν τῆς Θηβαίδος καμῆλοις ἐν διώρυγι τοῦ Νείλου κειμένην·<sup>5</sup> εἴτ'<sup>6</sup> εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς κώμης ὁ Γάλλος ἀναζεύξας τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ τοιούτων ἦει χωρίων, ὥστε καὶ ὕδωρ καμῆλοις κομίζειν μοχθηρίᾳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῆς ὁδοῦ· διόπερ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρέτα γῆν, συγγενοῦς τῷ Ὀβόδα· ἐδέξατο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἀρέτας φιλικῶς καὶ δῶρα προσήνεγκεν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Συλλαίου προδοσία κἀκείνην ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν δυσπόρευτον· τριάκοντα γοῦν ἡμέραις διήλθεν αὐτήν, ζειᾶς καὶ φοίνικας ὀλίγους παρέχουσιν καὶ βούτυρον ἀντ' ἐλαίου, διὰ τὰς ἀνοδίας· ἡ δ' ἐξῆς, ἣν ἐπῆει, Νομάδων ἦν καὶ ἔρημος<sup>7</sup> τὰ πολλὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς,

<sup>1</sup> σκελοτύρβη, Casaubon, for σκελοτίρβη.

<sup>2</sup> Ῥινοκολούρα, the reading of all MSS. here (cp. readings in 16. 1. 12 and 16. 2. 31).

<sup>3</sup> Νείλῳ· κατάγεται δ', Groskurd, for Νείλῳ κατάγεται τὰ δ'.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπέρθεσις, Tzschucke, for ὑπερθέσεις.

<sup>5</sup> κειμένην E, κειμένη other MSS.

sorely tried both with scurvy and with lameness in the leg, which are native ailments, the former disclosing a kind of paralysis round the mouth and the latter round the legs, both being the result of the native water and herbs. At all events, he was forced to spend both the summer and the winter there, waiting for the sick to recover. Now the loads of aromatics are conveyed from Leucê Comê to Petra, and thence to Rhinocolura, which is in Phoenicia near Aegypt, and thence to the other peoples; but at the present time they are for the most part transported by the Nile to Alexandria; and they are landed from Arabia and India at Myus Harbour; and then they are conveyed by camels over to Coptus in Thebaïs, which is situated on a canal of the Nile, and then to Alexandria. Again Gallus moved his army from Leucê Comê and marched through regions of such a kind that water had to be carried by camels, because of the baseness of the guides; and therefore it took many days to arrive at the land of Aretas, a kinsman of Obodas. Now Aretas received him in a friendly way and offered him gifts, but the treason of Syllaëus made difficult the journey through that country too; at any rate, it took thirty days to traverse the country, which afforded only *zeia*,<sup>1</sup> a few palm trees, and butter instead of oil, because they passed through parts that had no roads. The next country which he traversed belonged to nomads and most of it was

<sup>1</sup> Or *zea*, a kind of coarse grain.

<sup>6</sup> *ἐστ'*, Kramer inserts, from conj. of Letronne.

<sup>7</sup> *ἐρημος μοζ*, *ἐρημα* other MSS.

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀραρινή· βασιλεὺς δ' ἦν Σάβως.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ταύτην ἀνοδίαις διῆλθε κατατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα μέχρι πόλεως Νεγράνων<sup>2</sup> καὶ χώρας εἰρηνικῆς τε καὶ ἀγαθῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἔφυγεν, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐξ ἐφόδου κατελήφθη· ἐκεῖθεν ἡμέραις ἐξ ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. συναψάντων δ' αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων εἰς μάχην, περὶ μυρίους C 782 αὐτῶν ἔπεσον, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δύο· ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ἀπείρως τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀπόλεμοι τελέως ὄντες, τόξοις τε καὶ λόγχαις καὶ<sup>3</sup> ξίφεσι καὶ σφενδόναϊς, οἱ πλείστοι δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφιστόμοις πελέκεσιν· εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἴλε καλουμένην Ἀσκᾶ, ἀπολειφθεῖσαν<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ἀθρουλα πόλιν ἦκε, καὶ<sup>5</sup> κρατήσας αὐτῆς ἀκονιτί, φρουρὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας ἐφόδια<sup>6</sup> σίτου καὶ φοινίκων εἰς πόλιν Μαρσίαβα<sup>7</sup> προῆλθεν ἔθνους τοῦ Ῥαμμανιτῶν,<sup>8</sup> οἳ ἦσαν ὑπὸ Ἰλασάρῳ. ἐξ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει, λειψυδρίας δ' οὔσης ἀπέστη· δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέσχε τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου, καθάπερ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούειν ἦν· ἐξ δὲ μηνῶν χρόνον ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κατέτριψε, φαύλως ἀγόμενος· ἔγνω δ' ἀναστρέφων, ὅψε<sup>9</sup> τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καταμαθὼν καὶ καθ' ἑτέρας ὁδοὺς ἐπανελθὼν· ἐνναταῖος μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Instead of Σάβως, Dh read Σάβās, Σάβος morioxz.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of Νεγράνων, F has Ἀγράνων, CDhix Ἀγρανῶν, μοx Νεγρανῶν.

<sup>3</sup> καί, Corais inserts.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπολειφθεῖσαν, Corais, from conj. of Casaubon, for συλληφθεῖσαν.

<sup>5</sup> καί, Corais inserts.

<sup>6</sup> ἐφόδια μοx, omitted by other MSS. except x, which has τροφάς.



truly desert; and it was called Ararenê; and its king was Sabos; and in passing through this country, through parts that had no roads, he spent fifty days, arriving at the city of the Negrani<sup>1</sup> and at a country which was both peaceable and fertile. Now the king had fled and the city was seized at the first onset; and from there he arrived at the river in six days. Here the barbarians joined battle with the Romans, and about ten thousand of them fell, but only two Romans; for they used their weapons in an inexperienced manner, being utterly unfit for war, using bows and spears and swords and slings, though most of them used a double-edged axe; and immediately afterwards he took the city called Asca, which had been forsaken by its king; and thence he went to a city called Athrula; and, having mastered it without a struggle, he placed a garrison in it, arranged for supplies of grain and dates for his march, advanced to a city called Marsiaba, which belonged to the tribe of the Rhammanitae, who were subject to Ilasarus. Now he assaulted and besieged this city for six days, but for want of water desisted. He was indeed only a two days' journey from the country that produced aromatics, as informed by his captives, but he had used up six months' time on his marches because of bad guidance, and he realised the fact when he turned back, when at last he had learned the plot against him and had gone back by other roads;

<sup>1</sup> Negrana.

<sup>7</sup> *Μαρσναβαί* CDh, *Μαρσνάβα* moxz. Kramer conj. *Μαρίαβα*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ῥαμβανειτῶν* F, *Ῥαμανιτῶν* Cwx.

<sup>9</sup> *ὁψέ*, Xylander, for *ὅψει*.

γὰρ εἰς Νέγρανα<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν, ὅπου ἡ μάχη συμβεβήκει, ἐνδεκαταῖος δ' ἐκείθεν εἰς Ἑπτὰ φρέατα καλούμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος· ἐντεῦθεν ἦδη δι' εἰρηνικῆς<sup>2</sup> εἰς Χάαλλα κώμην καὶ πάλιν ἄλλην Μαλόθαν πρὸς ποταμῷ κειμένην ἀφικνεῖται· εἴτα δι' ἐρήμης ὀλίγα ὑδρεῖα ἐχούσης ὁδὸς μέχρι Ἑγρᾶς<sup>3</sup> κώμης. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ὀβόδα<sup>4</sup> κείμενη ἐπὶ θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξηκοσταῖος<sup>5</sup> ἐξήνυσε κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ἀναλώσας ἕξ μῆνας ἐν τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδῷ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπεραίωσε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνδεκαταῖος εἰς Μυὸς ὄρμον, εἴθ' ὑπερθεῖς<sup>6</sup> εἰς Κοπτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀνηθῆναι<sup>7</sup> δυναμένων κατῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπέβαλεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νόσων καὶ κόπων καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ μοχθηρίας τῶν ὁδῶν· ἐπεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐπτά γε μόνους<sup>8</sup> διαφθαρῆναι συνέβη. δι' ἧς αἰτίας οὐδ' ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν τόπων ὤνησεν ἡ στρατεία αὕτη· μικρὰ δ' ὅμως συνήργησεν. ὁ δ' αἴτιος τούτων ὁ Συλλαῖος ἔτισε δίκας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, προσποιούμενος μὲν φιλίαν, ἐλεγχθεῖς δὲ πρὸς ταύτη<sup>9</sup> τῇ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἄλλα κακουργῶν καὶ ἀποτμηθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν.

25. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρωματοφόρον διαιροῦσιν εἰς τέτταρας μερίδας, ὥσπερ εἰρήκαμεν· τῶν ἀρωμά-

<sup>1</sup> Νέγρανα F, Ἀνάγραν w, Ἀνάγρανα other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> εἰρηνικῆς, Corais, for εἰρήνης.

<sup>3</sup> iw have Ἑγρᾶς, mox Νεγρᾶς (cp. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰδθριππα).

<sup>4</sup> Ὀβόδα CDhx.

<sup>5</sup> ἐξηκοσταῖος, Casaubon, for ἐξηκοστήν mox, ἐξηκοστόν other MSS.

<sup>6</sup> ὑπερθεῖς, Corais, for ὑπέρθεσις.

<sup>7</sup> ὀνηθῆναι E, ὠνηθῆναι other MSS., σωθῆναι Meineke, from conj. of Kramer.

for on the ninth day he arrived at Negrana, where the battle had taken place, and thence on the eleventh day at Hepta Phreata, as the place is called, from the fact that it has seven wells; and thence, at last, marching through a peaceable country, he arrived at a village called Chaalla, and again at another village called Malotha, which is situated near a river; and then through a desert country, which had only a few watering-places, as far as a village called Egra. The village is in the territory of Obodas; and it is situated on the sea. On his return he accomplished the whole journey within sixty days, although he had used up six months in his first journey. Thence he carried his army across the Myus Harbour within eleven days, and marched by land over to Coptus, and, with all who had been fortunate enough to survive, landed at Alexandria. The rest he had lost, not in wars, but from sickness and fatigue and hunger and bad roads; for only seven men perished in war. For these reasons, also, this expedition did not profit us to a great extent in our knowledge of those regions, but still it made a slight contribution. But the man who was responsible for this failure, I mean Syllaëus, paid the penalty at Rome, since, although he pretended friendship, he was convicted, in addition to his rascality in this matter, of other offences too, and was beheaded.

25. Now writers divide the country that produces aromatics into four parts, as I have said before;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 16. 4. 2.

<sup>8</sup> γε μόνους E, omitted by μοζ, γε: ομένον F, γενομένων other MSS.

<sup>9</sup> ταύτη, Casaubon, for αὐτῇ.

των δὲ λίβανον μὲν καὶ σμύρναν ἐκ δένδρων  
 γίνεσθαι φασι<sup>1</sup> κασσίαν<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ ἐκ λιμνῶν.<sup>3</sup> τινὲς  
 δὲ τὴν πλείω ἐξ Ἰνδῶν εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ λιβάνου  
 βέλτιστον τὸν πρὸς τῇ Περσίδι. κατ' ἄλλην δὲ  
 διαίρεσιν σύμπασαν τὴν Εὐδαίμονα πενταχῇ  
 σχίζουσιν εἰς βασιλείας, ὧν ἡ μὲν τοὺς μαχίμους  
 ἔχει καὶ προαγωνιστὰς ἀπάντων, ἡ δὲ τοὺς γεωρ-  
 γούς, παρ' ὧν ὁ σῖτος εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσάγεται,  
 ἡ δὲ τοὺς βαναυσοτεχνούοντας, καὶ ἡ μὲν σμυρνο-  
 C 783 φόρος, ἡ δὲ λιβανωτοφόρος, αἱ δ' αὐταὶ καὶ τὴν  
 κασσίαν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸ κιννάμωμον καὶ τὴν νάρδον  
 φέρουσι. παρ' ἀλλήλων δ' οὐ μεταφοιτᾷ τὰ ἐπι-  
 τηδεύματα, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις διαμένουσιν  
 ἕκαστοι. οἶνος δ' ἐκ φοινίκων ὁ πλείων. ἀδελφοὶ  
 τιμιώτεροι τῶν τέκνων. κατὰ πρεσβυγένειαν καὶ  
 βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς  
 ἄρχουσι· κοινὴ κτῆσις ἅπασι τοῖς συγγενέσι,  
 κύριος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος· μία δὲ καὶ γυνὴ πᾶσιν,  
 ὁ δὲ φθάσας εἰσιὼν μίγνυται, προθεὶς τῆς θύρας  
 τὴν ῥάβδον· ἐκάστω γὰρ δεῖν ῥαβδοφορεῖν ἔθος·  
 νυκτερεύει δὲ παρὰ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ. διὸ καὶ  
 πάντες ἀδελφοὶ πάντων εἰσί. μίγνυνται δὲ καὶ  
 μητράσι· μοιχῶ δὲ ζημία θάνατος· μοιχὸς δ'

<sup>1</sup> After φασι, Meyer (*Bot. Erlaut. zur Strabo's Geog.* p. 130), would add the words κιννάμωμον δὲ ἐκ θάμνων.

<sup>2</sup> κασσίαν, Jones, following the MSS., instead of κασίαν, the spelling adopted here and elsewhere by Kramer and Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> λιμνῶν, Corais emends to θάμνων; so Groskurd, Kramer and Meineke, who cite Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* 9. 5, Pliny *Hist. Nat.* 12. 43, Celsus 5. 23. 1, 2, but not Arrian (*Exped.* 7. 20. 4), who (cited by C. Müller) says: ἤκουεν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων

and, among the aromatics, they say that frankincense and myrrh are produced from trees<sup>1</sup> and that cassia is produced also from marshes.<sup>2</sup> Some say that most of the latter comes from India and that the best frankincense is produced near Persis. But, according to another division, Arabia Felix is split up into five kingdoms, one of which comprises the warriors, who fight for all; another, the farmers, who supply food to all the rest; another, those who engage in the mechanical arts; another, the myrrh-bearing country, and another the frankincense-bearing country, although the same countries produce cassia, cinnamon, and nard. Occupations are not changed from one class to another, but each and all keep to those of their fathers. The greater part of their wine is made from the palm. Brothers are held in higher honour than children. The descendants of the royal family not only reign as kings, but also hold other offices, in accordance with seniority of birth; and property is held in common by all kinsmen, though the eldest is lord of all. One woman is also wife for all; and he who first enters the house before any other has intercourse with her, having first placed his staff before the door, for by custom each man must carry a staff; but she spends the night with the eldest. And therefore all children are brothers. They also have intercourse with their mothers; and the penalty for an adulterer is death;

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Greek for "and cinnamon is produced from bushes" has fallen out of the text here (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* as well as from bushes (but see critical note).

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τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θάμνων τὸ κιννάμωμον τέμνεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> κασίαν all MSS. except F, which has κασίαν.

ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξ ἄλλου γένους. θυγάτηρ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τινὸς θαυμαστὴ τὸ κάλλος, ἔχουσα ἀδελφοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐρῶντας αὐτῆς πάντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδιαλείπτως ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ παριόντα ὡς αὐτήν, κάμνουσα ἤδη, παραδέδοται νοήματι χρῆσασθαι τοιούτῳ· ποιησαμένη ῥάβδους ὁμοίας ταῖς ἐκείνων, ὅτ' ἐξίῳι<sup>1</sup> παρ' αὐτῆς τις, αἰεὶ τινα προὔτιθαι τῆς θύρας τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐκείνην, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἄλλην, εἴτ' ἄλλην,<sup>2</sup> στοχαζομένην, ὅπως μὴ ἐκείνη τὴν παραπλησίαν ἔχοι ὁ μέλλων προσιέναι· καὶ δὴ πάντων ποτὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν ὄντων, ἓνα προσιόντα τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ ἰδόντα τὴν ῥάβδον, ἐκ μὲν ταύτης εἰκάσαι, διότι παρ' αὐτήν τις εἷη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πάντας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καταλιπεῖν ὑπονοῆσαι μοιχόν· δραμόντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπαγαγόντα<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνον ἐλεγχθῆναι καταψευσάμενον τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

26. Σώφρονες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ναβαταῖοι καὶ κτητικοί, ὥστε καὶ δημοσίᾳ τῷ μὲν μειώσαντι τὴν οὐσίαν ζημία κεῖται, τῷ δ' αὐξήσαντι τιμαί. ὀλιγόδουλοι δ' ὄντες ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν διακονοῦνται τὸ πλεον ἢ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ αὐτοδιάκονοι, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν βασιλέων διατείνειν τὸ ἔθος. συσσίτια δὲ ποιοῦνται κατὰ τρισκαίδεκα ἀνθρώπους, μουσουργοὶ δὲ δύο τῷ συμποσίῳ ἐκάστω. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὄγκῳ<sup>4</sup> μεγάλῳ πολλὰ συνέχει<sup>5</sup> συμπόσια· πίνει δ' οὐδεὶς πλεον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξηει μοζ.

<sup>2</sup> εἴτ' ἄλλην omitted by MSS. except F.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπαγαγαγόντα, Corais, for ἀπαγαγότα.

<sup>4</sup> ὄγκῳ, Jones hesitates to emend to οἴκῳ, the emendation of Tyrwhitt generally accepted by later editors.

<sup>5</sup> συνέχει E<sup>x</sup>, συνεχῇ other MSS., συνεχῇ ποιεῖ μοζ.

but only the person from another family is an adulterer.<sup>1</sup> A daughter of one of the kings who was admired for her beauty had fifteen brothers, who were all in love with her, and therefore visited her unceasingly, one after another. At last, being tired out by their visits, she used the following device: she had staves made like theirs, and, when one of them left her, she always put a staff like his in front of the door, and a little later another, and then another—it being her aim that the one who was likely to visit her next might not have a staff similar to the one in front of the door; and so once, when all the brothers were together at the market-place, one of them, going to her door and seeing the staff in front of it, surmised that someone was with her; and, from the fact that he had left all his brothers in the market-place, he suspected that her visitor was an adulterer; but after running to his father and bringing him to the house, he was proved to have falsely accused his sister.

26. The Nabataeans are a sensible people, and are so much inclined to acquire possessions that they publicly fine anyone who has diminished his possessions and also confer honours on anyone who has increased them. Since they have but few slaves, they are served by their kinsfolk for the most part, or by one another, or by themselves; so that the custom extends even to their kings. They prepare common meals together in groups of thirteen persons; and they have two girl-singers for each banquet. The king holds many drinking-bouts in magnificent style, but no one drinks more than eleven cupfuls,

<sup>1</sup> The Greek indicates merely the *male* adulterer.

ἔνδεκα ποτηρίων ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ ἐκπώματι. οὕτω δ' ὁ βασιλεύς ἐστι δημοτικός, ὥστε πρὸς τῷ αὐτοδιακόνῳ καὶ ποτε<sup>1</sup> ἀντιδιάκονον τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸν γίνεσθαι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ δίδωσιν εὐθύνας, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ἐξετάζεται τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον· οἰκήσεις δὲ διὰ λίθου πολυτελεῖς, αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἀτείχιστοι δι' εἰρήνην· εὐκαρπος ἡ πολλὴ πλὴν ἐλαίου, χρῶνται δὲ σησαμίνῳ. πρόβατα C 784 λευκότριχα, βόες μεγάλοι, ἵππων ἄφορος ἡ χώρα· κάμηλοι δὲ τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀντ' ἐκείνων παρέχονται· ἀχίτωνες δ' ἐν περιζώμασι καὶ βλαυτίοις προΐασι, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐν πορφύρᾳ δ' οὗτοι· εἰσαγώγιμα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν τελέως, τὰ δ' οὐ παντελῶς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπιχωριάζει,<sup>2</sup> καθάπερ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἄρωμάτων, χαλκὸς δὲ καὶ σιδηρὸς καὶ ἔτι πορφυρᾷ ἐσθῆς, στύραξ, κρόκος, κοστάρια, τόρευμα, γραφή, πλάσμα οὐκ ἐπιχώρια· ἴσα κοπρίαις ἡγοῦνται τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτός φησι· Νέκυες κοπίων ἐκβλητότεροι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κοπρῶνας κατορύττουσι καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς. ἥλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἰδρυσάμενοι βωμόν, σπένδοντες ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λιβανωτίζοντες.

27. Τοῦ δὲ ποιητοῦ λέγοντος,

Αἰθιοπὰς θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ  
Ἑρεμβούς,

<sup>1</sup> ποτε, Corais, for το.



each time using a different golden cup. The king is so democratic that, in addition to serving himself, he sometimes even serves the rest himself in his turn. He often renders an account of his kingship in the popular assembly; and sometimes his mode of life is examined. Their homes, through the use of stone, are costly; but, on account of peace, the cities are not walled. Most of the country is well supplied with fruits except the olive; they use sesame-oil instead. The sheep are white-fleeced and the oxen are large, but the country produces no horses. Camels afford the service they require instead of horses. They go out without tunics, with girdles about their loins, and with slippers on their feet—even the kings, though in their case the colour is purple. Some things are imported wholly from other countries, but others not altogether so, especially in the case of those that are native products, as, for example, gold and silver and most of the aromatics, whereas brass and iron, as also purple garb, styrax, crocus, costaria, embossed works, paintings, and moulded works are not produced in their country. They have the same regard for the dead as for dung, as Heracleitus says: "Dead bodies more fit to be cast out than dung"; and therefore they bury even their kings beside dung-heaps. They worship the sun, building an altar on the top of the house, and pouring libations on it daily and burning frankincense.

27. When the poet says, "I came to Aethiopians and Sidonians and Erebbians,"<sup>1</sup> historians are

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* 4. 84.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιχωριάζει E, ἐπιχωριάζειν other MSS. Kramer conj. ὅτι before the verb, Corais τά.

<sup>3</sup> χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος E, χρύσον καὶ ἄργυρον.

διαποροῦσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν Σιδονίων μὲν, εἴτε τινὰς χρὴ λέγειν τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικούντων, ὧν ἄποικοι οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν Σιδόνιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Τυρίους τινὰς ἐκεῖ νησιώτας ἱστοροῦσι καὶ Ἀραδίους, ὧν ἀποίκους τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν φασιν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς Σιδονίους· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν ἢ ζήτησις, εἴτε τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας ὑπονοητέον λέγεσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν βιαζόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἔραν ἐμβαίνειν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν γῆν, εἴτε τοὺς Ἀραβας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων ὁ ἡμέτερος μεταγράφει οὕτως·

καὶ Σιδονίους Ἀραβάς τε.

πιθανώτερον δὲ Ποσειδώνιος γράφει τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀλλάξαι

καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἀραμβούς,<sup>1</sup>

ὥς τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοὺς νῦν Ἀραβας οὕτω καλέσαντος, καθάπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὠνομάζοντο κατ' αὐτόν. φησὶ δὲ ταῦτα τρία ἔθνη, συνεχῇ ἀλλήλοις ἰδρυμένα, ὁμογένειάν τινα ἐμφαίνειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> παρακειμένοις ὀνόμασι κεκλήσθαι, τοὺς μὲν Ἀρμενίους, τοὺς δὲ Ἀραμαίους,<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δὲ Ἀραμβούς·<sup>4</sup> ὥσπερ δὲ ἀπὸ ἔθνους<sup>5</sup> ἐνὸς<sup>6</sup> ὑπολαμβάνειν ἔστιν εἰς τρία διηρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς τῶν κλιμάτων διαφορὰς αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξαλλαττομένων, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι

<sup>1</sup> Ἀραμβούς, Corais, for Ἑρεμβούς.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο, Groskurd, for τό.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀραμαίους marg. F, Kramer; Ἀριμίους F, Ἀράβους i, Ἀραβίους other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀραμβούς marg. F, Ἑρεμβούς elsewhere in MSS.

<sup>5</sup> For ἀπὸ ἔθνους, Corais reads πιθανῶς.

entirely at loss to know, in the first place, in regard to the Sidonians, whether one should call them a certain people who dwelt on the Persian Gulf, from whom the Sidonians in our part of the world<sup>1</sup> were colonists, just as they speak of Tyrians there, islanders, as also of Aradians, from whom they say those in our part of the world were colonists, or whether one should call them the Sidonians themselves; but, secondly, the inquiry about the Erembians is more doubtful, whether one should suspect that the Troglodytes are meant, as do those who force the etymology of "Erembi" from *eran embainein*,<sup>2</sup> that is, *go into the earth*, or the Arabians. Now our<sup>3</sup> Zeno alters the text thus: "and to Sidonians and Arabians"; but Poseidonius more plausibly writes, with only a slight alteration of the text, "and Sidonians and Arambians," on the ground that the poet so called the present Arabians, just as they were named by all others in his time. Poseidonius says that the Arabians consist of three tribes, that they are situated in succession, one after another, and that this indicates that they are homogeneous with one another, and that for this reason they were called by similar names—one tribe "Armenians," another "Aramaeans," and another "Arambians." And just as one may suppose that the Arabians were divided into three tribes, according to the differences in the latitudes, which ever vary more and more, so also one may suppose that they used several names

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* those on the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I, p. 153, and footnote 1.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of our Stoic School.

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<sup>6</sup> ἐνός, inserted by editors from conj. of Tyrwhitt.

χρήσασθαι πλείοσιν ἀνθ' ενός. οὐδ' οἱ Ἑρεμνοὺς γράφοντες πιθανοί· τῶν γὰρ Αἰθιοπῶν μᾶλλον ἴδιον. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμους ὁ ποιητής, οὓς φησι Ποσειδώνιος δέχεσθαι δεῖν μὴ τόπον τινὰ τῆς Συρίας ἢ τῆς Κιλικίας ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς γῆς, C 785 ἀλλὰ τὴν Συρίαν αὐτήν· Ἀραμαῖοι<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ, τάχα δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἀριμαίους<sup>2</sup> ἐκάλουν ἢ Ἀρίμους. αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταπτώσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, πολλάί· καθάπερ τὸν Δαριήκην Δαρεῖον ἐκάλεσαν, τὴν δὲ Φάρξιριν<sup>3</sup> Παρύσατιν,<sup>4</sup> Ἀταργάτιν<sup>5</sup> δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν,<sup>6</sup> Δερκετῶ δ' αὐτὴν Κτησιᾶς καλεῖ. τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων εὐδαιμονίας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἂν τις ποιήσαιο μάρτυρα τὸν διανοηθέντα, ὥς φασι, καὶ βασίλειον αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπάνοδον. πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις αὐτοῦ κατελύθησαν, τελευτήσαντος παραχρῆμα τὸν βίον· μία δ' οὖν καὶ αὕτη τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων ἦν, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες παραδέχοιτο αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ μή, ὥς πολεμήσοντος· καὶ δὴ ὁρῶν μήτε πρότερον μήθ' ὕστερον πέμψαντας ὥς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥσπερ εἰρήκαμεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀραμαῖοι, Corais, for Ἀριμαῖοι.

■ Ἀριμαίους, Corais, for Ἀραμαίους.

<sup>3</sup> Φάρξιριν F.

<sup>4</sup> Παρυσάτην D first hand.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀταργάτην D first hand.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀθάραν Dhi., Ἀθάρα other MSS.

instead of one. Neither are those who write "Eremni" <sup>1</sup> plausible; for that name is more peculiarly applicable to the Aethiopians. The poet also mentions "Arimi," <sup>2</sup> by which, according to Poseidonius, we should interpret the poet as meaning, not some place in Syria or in Cilicia or in some other land, but Syria itself; for the people in Syria are Aramaeans, though perhaps the Greeks called them Arimaeans or Arimi. The changes in names, and particularly in those of the barbarians, are numerous: for example, they called Dareius "Darieces," Parysatis "Pharziris," and Athara "Atargatis," though Ctesias calls her "Derceto." As for the blest lot of Arabia, <sup>3</sup> one might make even Alexander a witness thereof, since he intended, as they say, even to make it his royal abode after his return from India. Now all his enterprises were broken up because of his sudden death; but, at any rate, this too was one of his enterprises, to see whether they would receive him voluntarily, and if they did not, to go to war with them; and accordingly, when he saw that they had not sent ambassadors to him, either before or after, <sup>4</sup> he set about making preparations for war, as I have stated heretofore in this work. <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Black (people).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 2. 783.

<sup>3</sup> It was called "Arabia the Blest," "Arabia Felix."

<sup>4</sup> i.e. his expedition to India. <sup>5</sup> 16. 1. 11.

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HERODOTUS

DIODORUS SICULUS

PLINY (the elder)